

Chapter - IV

**ARTHAŚĀSTRA AND PAÑCATANTRA - A COMPARISON**

\* \* \* \* \*

Part - I

**The Elements of Sovereignty**

It is well known that the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya is an ancient treatise dealing with many aspects of the administration of a kingdom. For smooth and perfect running of the administration of the kingdom, the ruler has to be efficient enough in all respects. The *Arthaśāstra* therefore, in its beginning, presents king's education and training in various disciplines. And, then follow the related topics on treasury, minister, servant, friend, fort etc. On the other hand, the *Pañcatantra* of Viṣṇuśarmā when brought in comparison with the *Arthaśāstra*, reader comes to know that Viṣṇuśarmā has closely followed Kauṭilya in many respects.

As it has been stated by Viṣṇuśarmā himself in the text, the *Pañcatantra* has its central theme to show the importance of science of polity for the kings to establish the welfare in the

country. Therefore, it tends to take a note that the general statements read in the *Pañcatantra* have invariably the reflection of the science of polity. In the history of science of polity in India, Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra* plays an important role for its being the foremost and vast treasure of science of polity. Therefore, an evaluation of the *Pañcatantra* would be meaningful, if it is, read within the frame of the *Arthasāstra*. As such, here is an attempt to show that the *Pañcatantra* is a reflex of the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya. Hence, the following is the study of the *Pañcatantra* and *Arthasāstra* in their comparative perspective.

It has been a fact that a kingdom remains flourishing by the collective efforts of all administrative officials in the royal assembly. The principal official is none-else than the king himself. The opening words of the *Pañcatantra* are evident to point out that king *Amaraśakti* was able administrator and was honoured by many feudatory kings.<sup>1</sup> The only scarcity he had undergone was his having importunate sons, whom he wanted to educate in the science of polity to run the affairs of the kingdom smoothly in future. But, looking to the stagnant-intellect of his sons, the king had to choose most efficient teacher who could train the sons effectively.

---

1. तत्र सकलार्थिकल्पद्रुमः प्रवरमुकुटमणिमरीचिमञ्जरीचर्चितचरणयुगुलः सकलकलापारङ्गतोऽमरशक्तिर्नाम राजा बभूव ।

*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathāmukhaṃ*, p. 2.

In the words of Kauṭilya, there are three categories of prince, of whom the princes of stagnant intellect come under the second category i.e., whoever never carries into practice, the good instructions he has imbibed, is one of the stagnant intelligence.<sup>2</sup> Of course, the teacher of such princes was let free to choose the method of instructing them. Of course, Viṣṇuśarmā did select the most effective method of teaching through the narration of fables wherein animals and birds are personified. He was such a devoted teacher that he himself wrote the text as an aid for teaching the princes. Thus Viṣṇuśarmā is here pictured as a perfect and ideal teacher.

He took the time of six months to educate them and he made them stay with himself for that whole period. Because, he had made it a point to instruct them into the science of polity through fables, making good use of all time. In this respect, Kauṭilya remarks that during the rest of day and night, the teacher should, not only receive new lessons and revise old lessons, but also hear over and again what has not been clearly understood.<sup>3</sup> Hence, Viṣṇuśarmā's method of teaching is found in tune with Kauṭilya's idea.

---

2. बुद्धिमानाहार्यबुद्धिर्दुबुद्धिरिति पुत्रविशेषाः । शिष्यमाणो धर्मार्थवुपलभते चानुतिष्ठति च बुद्धिमान् । उपलभमानो नानुतिष्ठत्याहार्यबुद्धिः ।

*Arthasāstra*, I *Adhikaraṇa* (*Vinayādhikaraṇa*), XVII *Adhyāya*, p.53.

3. अस्य नित्यश्च विद्यावृद्धसंयोगो विनयवृद्धचर्यं, तन्मूलत्वाद्विनयस्य । पूर्वमहर्भागं हस्यश्वरथप्रहरणविद्यासु विनयं गच्छेत् । पश्चिममितिहासश्रवणे ।

*Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya, *Adhikaraṇa*-I (*Vinayādhikaraṇa*), *Adhyāya*-V, p.18.

## Constituent Elements of Sovereignty

An elucidation of the constituent elements of sovereignty is very important aspect of the texts on science of polity.

Even so, Kauṭilya has given prime importance to enumerate these essential factors without which the state cannot exist. The explanation of the constituent elements would reveal that they form the basis of the organic growth of the state. Kauṭilya has a definite concept of the elements of the state. He calls them the seven *Prakṛtis* of the sovereignty. Kauṭilya has restated the relative importance of the seven elements of the sovereignty, which are enumerated thus : the king (*Svāmi*), the minister (*Amātya*), the country (*Janapada*), the fort (*Durga*), the treasury (*Kośa*), the army (*Daṇḍa*), the friend (*Mitra*). The relative importance of these elements may be studied in comparison to the *Pañcatantra* of Viṣṇuśarmā.

### 1. Rājā (King)

While dealing with the elements of sovereignty, Kauṭilya states that the king is the first and foremost element of sovereignty.<sup>4</sup> As a corollary to this, he enumerates the best qualities of the king as below :

Born of a high family, godly, possessed of valour, seeing through the medium of aged persons, virtuous, truthful, not of a

---

4. स्वाम्यमात्यजनपददुर्गकोशदण्डमित्राणि प्रकृतयः ।  
*Arthasāstra*, VI *Adhikaraṇa*, p.318

contradictory nature, grateful having large aims, highly enthusiastic, not addicted to procrastination, powerful to control his neighbouring kings of resolute mind, having an assembly of ministers of no mean quality, and possessed of a taste for discipline - these are the qualities of an inviting nature.<sup>5</sup>

Besides these, inquiry, hearing, perception, retention in memory, reflection, deliberation, inference and steadfast adherence to conclusions are the qualities of intellect, valour, determination of purpose, quickness and probity are the aspects of enthusiasm of the king.

Possessed of a sharp intellect, strong memory, and keen-mind, energetic, powerful, trained in all kinds of arts, free from vice, capable of paying in the same coin by way of awarding punishments or rewards, possessed of dignity; capable of taking remedial measures against danger, possessed of foresight, ready to avail himself of opportunities when afforded in respect of place, time and manly efforts, clever enough to discern the causes necessitating the cessation of treaty or war with an enemy or to lie in weight keeping treatise, obligation and pledges, or to avail himself of his enemy's weak points, making jokes with no loss of dignity or secrecy, never brow-beating and casting laughty and stern looks, free from passion, anger, greed,

---

5. तत्र स्वामिसम्पत्-महाकुलीनो दैवबुद्धिसच्चसम्पन्नो वृद्धदर्शी धार्मिकस्सत्यवागविसंवादकः कृतज्ञः स्थूललक्षो महोत्साहोऽदीर्घसूत्रश्शक्यसामन्तो दृढबुद्धिरक्षुद्रपरिषत्कोविनयकाम इत्याभिगामिका गुणाः ॥  
*Arthasāstra*, VI *Adhikarāṇa*, (*Maṇḍalayoni*) II *Adhyāya*, p.318.

obstinacy, fickleness, haste and back-biting habits, talking to others with a smiling face and observing customs as taught by aged persons - such is the nature of self-possession of the king.<sup>6</sup>

Viṣṇuśarmā considers that king is the personification of god. Therefore, Damanaka being trustworthy to his king, Piṅgalaka, states that he never speaks lie before the king.

While narrating the story of Piṅgalaka knowing the surprising arrival of a bull named Sañjīvaka to the forest-kingdom, Damanaka reported the same to his king. Piṅgalaka did not confide Damanaka's words. At that time Damanaka said that he never speaks lie before the king as he is on par with the god. He who speaks lie before the king or the god he would certainly perish.<sup>7</sup>

A king is declared by Manu to be the representative of all gods. One should therefore, regard him as a god and not deal with him treacherously.<sup>8</sup>

6. शुश्रूषाश्रवणग्रहणधारणविज्ञानोहापोहतत्त्वामिनिवेशाः प्रज्ञागुणाः । शौर्यममर्षः शीघ्रता दाक्ष्यं चोत्साहगुणाः । प्रज्ञा प्रगल्भः स्मृतिमतिबलवानुदग्रः स्ववग्रहः कृतशिल्पो व्यसने दण्डनाद्युपकारापकारयोर्दृष्टप्रतीकारी ह्रीमानापत्त्रकृत्यो विनियोक्ता दीर्घदूरदर्शी देशकालपुरुषकारकार्यप्रधानस्सन्धिविक्रमत्याग संयम-पणपरच्छिद्रविभागी संवृतादीनाभि-हास्य-जिह्वभ्रकुटीक्षणः कामक्रोधलोभस्तम्भचापलोपतापपैशुन्यहीनः शक्यस्मितोदग्रामिभाषी वृद्धोपदेशाचार इत्यात्मसम्पत् ।

*Arthaśāstra, VI Adhikaraṇa (Maṇḍalayoni), I Adhyāya pp. 318-319.*

7. अपि स्वल्पमसत्यं यः पुरो वदति भूभुजाम् ।  
देवानां च विनश्येत स द्रुतं सुमहानपि ॥ १३० ॥  
*Ibid.*, verse 130, p.39

8. सर्वदेवमयो राजा मनुना सम्प्रकीर्तितः ।  
तस्मात्तं देववत्पश्येन्न व्यलीकेन कर्हिचित् ॥ १३१ ॥  
*Ibid.*, verse, 131, p. 39.

*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā-2, verses 130 and 131. p. 39.*

The king is considered as more beneficial than the god. Because a special characteristic of a king is to bestow the fruits good or bad in no time in this birth.<sup>9</sup>

Towards the close of *Mitrabheda*, Piṅgalaka entertained the feeling of guilty-consciousness, as he killed the Sañjīvaka, and for which he condemned himself as having committed sinful act. Seeing Piṅgalaka in plightful condition, Damanaka said to him that lamenting over the death of Sañjīvaka is not proper on the part of the king. Because king requires to function in accordance of the situation. He appears to be a man of variety of forms and his policy as well. Therein, he declares in the following words.

“Now full of truth, now uttering falsehoods, now harsh now of agreeable address, sometimes cruel at others, merciful, now given to hoarding money, now liberal, at the time incurring a heavy expenditure, at another, having a good treasure at command, does the policy of a king, like a harlot, appears in a variety of forms.”<sup>10</sup>

---

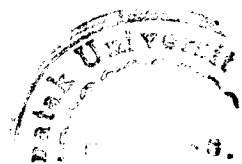
9. सर्वदेवमयस्यापि विशेषो नृपतेरयम् ।  
शुभाशभफलं सद्यो नृपाद् देवाद्भवान्तरे ॥ १३२ ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā* II, verse-132, p.40.

10. सत्यानृता च परुषा प्रियवादिनी च  
हिंसा दयालुरपि चाथपरा वदान्या ।  
भूरिव्यथा प्रचुरवित्तसमागमा च  
वेश्याङ्गनेव नृपतिरनेकरूपा ॥  
*Pañcatantra Mitrabheda, Kathā* - xxii, verse, 459, p.19.

Bearing a similar nature of king's policy, the *Arthaśāstra* also records various types of king's movements which the minister should endeavour to read, i.e. "By cognising wisdom in others, he is pleased; he attends to the speech of others; he gives a seat, allows himself to be seen in private; does not suspect in places of suspicion, takes delight in conversation, spontaneously looks to things without being reminded; tolerates what is said agreeably to reason; orders with smiling face, touches with the hand; does not laugh at what is commendable; commends the qualities of another behind him, remembers (the courtier) while taking luncheon, engages himself in sports accompanied by (the courtier) consults (the courtier) when in trouble, honours the courtier more and more; gives him wealth, and averts his troubles – these are the signs of the king's satisfaction with the courtier.

The reverse of the above indicates the king's displeasure still. That is described in plain terms.

Angry appearance when the courtier is in sight; evading or refusal to hear his speech; no inclination to give him a seat or to see him; change in syllables and accents while talking to him; seeing with one eye, brow-beating, biting the lips, rise of sweat, hard breathing and smiling with no palpable cause, talking to himself, sudden bending or rising of the body, touching the body or the seat of another, molestation to another, contempt of learning, caste and country (of courtier), condemnation of a colleague of equal defects, condemnation of a man of opposite





defects, condemnation of his opponent; failure to acknowledge his good deeds, enumeration of his bad deeds; attention to whoever enter into the chamber; too much gift, uttering falsehood, change in the conduct and attitude of visitors to the king; nay, the courtier shall also note the change in the life of animals other than men.<sup>11</sup>

### i. Duties of the King

In the *Mitrabheda*, Viṣṇuśarmā presents in detail the duties of a king while narrating the story of Bhāsuraka and a rabbit. When Bhāsuraka the lion-king was drastic in killing the animal-subjects to fetch his hunger, a clever rabbit approached the king and awakened him with credible words regarding the duties of a king. “A king should not seek to enrich treasury all at once but should draw as much money from his subjects, as he can do with safety and that too by gentle means.”<sup>12</sup>

11. प्रजादर्शने प्रसीदति । वाक्यं प्रतिगृह्णाति । आसनं ददाति । विवेको दर्शयते । शङ्कास्थाने नातिशङ्कते । कथायां रमते । परिज्ञाप्येष्ववेक्षते । पथ्यमुक्तं सहते । स्मयमानो नियुङ्क्ते । हस्तेन स्पृशति । श्लाघ्ये नोपहसति ॥ परोक्षं गुणं ब्रवीति । भक्ष्येषु स्मरति । सह विहारं याति । व्यसनेऽभ्यवपद्यते । तद्भक्तीन् पूजयति । गुह्यमाचष्टे । मानं वर्धयति । अर्थं करोति । अनर्थं प्रतिहन्ति - इति तुष्टज्ञानम् ॥

एतदेव विपरीतमतुष्टस्य । भूयश्च वक्ष्यामः - सन्दर्शने कोपः, वाक्यस्यश्रवणप्रतिषेधौ, आसनचक्षुषोरदानं, वर्णस्वरभेदः, एकाक्षिभ्रुकुट्योष्ठनिर्भेदः, स्वदेशवासस्मितानामसथानोत्पत्तिः, परिमन्त्रणं, अकस्माद्ब्रजनं, वर्धनं अन्यस्य, भूमिगात्रविलेपनं, अन्यस्योपतोदनं, विद्यावणदिशकुत्सा, समदोषनिन्दा, प्रतिदोषनिन्दा, प्रतिलोमस्तवः, सुकृतनपेक्षणं, दुष्कृतानुकीर्तनं, प्रविष्टावधानः, अतित्यागः, मिथ्यामिभाषणं, राजदर्शिनां च तद्वृत्तान्यत्वं, वृत्तिविकारं, चावेक्षेताप्यमानुषाणाम् ।

12. शनैः शनैश्च यो राज्यमुपभुङ्क्ते यथाबलम् ।  
रसायनमिव प्राज्ञः स पुष्टिं परमां ब्रजेत् ॥

*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā-VIII, verse 238, p.98*

Here, the word 'रसायन' is very significant. It means medicine and they should be taken in a small dosage, otherwise it will do harm. Further it is said "a kingdom though unproductive yeilds fruit in the form of a good revenue, when pressed for payment by constitutional means like the *araṇi* though rough gives rise to fire when churned in the due manner. It means when the king who governs his kingdom according to the dictates, the policy and the advice of his minister, the subjects pay the taxes levied although the taxation weigh heavy upon them at times."<sup>13</sup>

Viṣṇuśarmā, gives a fine example of a cowherd and a cow in connection with king's collection of the taxes from the subjects. Just as a cowherd man protects and nourishes the cow, and at the same time takes the milk from the cow without doing any harm to it, the king too should collect the taxes from its subjects gradually protecting and nourishing them at the same time; and he should follow the policy of justice.<sup>14</sup>

Further, with regard to the revenues, Viṣṇuśarmā states that a king desirous of revenue, with special efforts should take care of the growth of the subjects with the bestowal of gifts and honours. Just as a gardener wishing for fruit, tends the young

---

13. विधिना मन्त्रयुक्तेन रूक्षापि मथितापि च ।

प्रयच्छति फलं भूमिररणीव हुताशनम् ॥

*Pañcatantra Mitrabheda, Kathā* - viii verse 239, p. 98.

14. गोपालेन प्रजाधेनोर्वित्तदुग्धं शनैः शनैः ।

पालनात्पोषणाद् ग्राह्यं न्याय्यां वृत्ति समाचरेत् ॥

*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā* - viii p.98

supplings with special care by pruning them by keeping them in good order and with supplying them with water.<sup>15</sup>

Again, taking an examples of cow and creeper yeilding at proper time, the author states that a king wishing to have large revenue, must be attended to the general prosperity and well-being the subjects.<sup>16</sup>

A king bestows the gifts on the people prosper, while they meet with destruction, if the people are destroyed.<sup>17</sup>

For a king, the protection of subjects conduces to glory and swells the treasure in the form of heaven. But their operation undoubtedly leads to the destruction of religious merit and to sin infamy.<sup>18</sup>

All these points deal with the duties of the king to maintain peace and happiness among his subjects. This central idea

- 
15. फलार्थी नृपतिर्लोकान्पालयेद्यत्नमास्थितः ।  
दानमानादितोयेन मालाकारोङ्कुरानिव ॥ २४३ ॥  
*Ibid*, verse 243, p. 98
16. यथा गौर्दुह्यते काले पाल्यते च तथा प्रजाः ।  
सिच्यते चीयते चैव लता पुष्पफलप्रदा ॥ २४५ ॥  
*Ibid*, verse 245, p.99
17. लोकानुग्रहकर्तारः प्रवर्धन्ते नरेश्वराः ।  
लोकानां संक्षयाच्चैव क्षयं यान्ति न संशयः ॥ २४७ ॥  
*Ibid*, verse 248, p. 99
18. प्रजानां पालनं शस्यं स्वर्गकोशस्य वर्धनम् ।  
पीडनं धर्मनाशाय पापायायशसे स्थितम् ॥  
*Ibid.*, verse 240, p. 98.

hidden in the duties of the king, is upheld in the *Arthasāstra* too. Kauṭilya declares that in the happiness of his subjects lies king's happiness, in his welfare; whatever pleases himself he should not consider as good. But whatever pleases his subjects he should consider it as good. Hence, the king should ever be active and discharge his duties; the root of the wealth is activity, and of evil its reverse.

In the absence of activity acquisitions present and to come will perish; by activity he can achieve both his desired ends and abundance of wealth.<sup>19</sup>

## ii. Cruel King

As a matter of fact, a king of unrighteous characters and of vicious habits will, though emperor, fall a prey either to the fury of his own subjects or to that of his enemies.<sup>20</sup>

- 
19. प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम् ।  
नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम् ॥ ४३ ॥  
*Arthasāstra*, I *Adhikaraṇa* (*Vinayadhikarikam*) XIX *Adhyāya*, p. 59.  
तस्मान्नित्योत्थितो राजा कुर्यादर्थानुशासनम् ।  
अर्थस्य मूलमुत्थानमनर्थस्य विपर्ययः ॥ ४४ ॥  
\* *Arthasāstra*, I *Adhikaraṇa* (*Vinayadhikarikam*) XIX *Adhyāya*, p. 59.  
अनुत्थाने ध्रुवो नाशः प्राप्तस्यानागतस्य च ।  
प्राप्यते फलमुत्थानाल्लभते चार्थसम्पदम् ॥ ४५ ॥  
\* *Arthasāstra*, I *Adhikaraṇa* (*Vinayadhikarikam*) XIX *Adhyāya*, p. 59.
20. ततस्सदुष्टप्रकृतिश्चातुरन्तोऽप्यनात्मवान् ।  
हन्यते वा प्रकृतिभिर्याति वा द्विपतां वशम् ॥  
*Arthasāstra*, VI *Adhikaraṇa* (*Maṇḍalayoni*) I *Adhyāya*, p. 320.

Ofcourse, this statement of Kauṭilya is found reflected effectively in many contexts of the *Pañcatantra*. In the *Mitrabheda*, while narrating the story of Bhāsuraka, he (lion-king) is pictured as of unrighteous character. At his own will, the lion-king was playing with the lives of his own animal-subjects. But, finally that lion-king fell a prey to his own subject i.e., an intelligent rabbit.

Similarly in the *Kākolukīyam*, Viṣṇuśarmā describes the story of Meghavarṇa (crow-king) and Arimardana (owl-king). As is evident in this story, Arimardana and his ministers excepting Raktākṣa, are characterised as doing unrighteous deeds against Meghavarṇa and his followers. As a result, that Arimardana together with his subjects perished at the hands of his enemies.

Again in the *Labdhapraṇāśa*, the story of Gaṅgadatta (frog-king), stands as an example for the above statement. Due to his enmity with his kin-frogs, Gaṅgadatta asked a serpent to kill the kin-frogs one by one. But alas ! the selfish deed of Gaṅgadatta led to the destruction of his own frogs.

Likewise, the story of king Candra in the *Aparīkṣitakāraka* may be read to the same effect.

### **iii. King in association with Servant**

It has been an universal fact that behind the success of a king in all his endeavours for the welfare of the kingdom, servant is one of the important causes, who remains associated with a

king in the appointed affairs with proper examination of their physical and mental capacity. The servants without acknowledging their innate capacity, if be appointed in a disproportionate jobs, it becomes the fault of the king, says Viṣṇuśarmā.<sup>21</sup>

Besides, if a king deals with his servants equally without distinction, then the energy of those capable of good work, is damped.<sup>22</sup>

A king cannot be without servants nor can the servants exist without a king. Thus, their relation is mutually dependent, what is meant is the greatness of kings depends on their servants and vice-versa.<sup>23</sup> A king who has no servants, although conferring favours upon men, does not shine by himself, as the Sun does not shine without his rays although luminous.<sup>24</sup>

To be more explicit, Viṣṇuśarmā illustrates that the nave is supported by the spokes and the spokes are planted into the nave.

---

21. “राजा भृत्यानुत्तमपदयोग्यान्हीनाधमस्थाने नियोजयति, न ते तिष्ठन्ति, स भूपतिदोषो न तेषाम् ।”  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda.*

22. निर्विशेषं यदा स्वामी समं भृत्येषु वर्तते ।  
तत्रोद्यमसमर्थानामुत्साहः परिहीयते ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā - i, verse - 86, p.28.*

23. न विना पार्थिवो भृत्यैर्न भृत्याः पार्थिवं विना ।  
तेषां च व्यवहारोऽयं परस्परनिबन्धनः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā - i, verse - 87, p.28.*

24. भृत्यैर्विना स्वयं राजा लोकानुग्रहकारिभिः ।  
मयूखैरिव दीप्तांशुस्तेजस्यपि न शोभते ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā - i, verse - 88, p.28.*

Thus proceeds also the wheel of the relation.<sup>25</sup> Even the hair, always borne on the head and treated with oil, turns grey if deprived of the oil; how should not servants then be alienated if not treated with affection although ever greatly honoured and treated affectionately.<sup>26</sup>

So also, when the king becomes pleased, he shows proper respect by means of only money, but in turn the servants serve the king even at the cost of their life.<sup>27</sup>

Upholding the importance of the servants, the *Pañcatantra* emphasises that faithful servants who die in the cause of their master get a permanent residence in heaven and leave an undying fame on earth.<sup>28</sup>

Of course, it is the duty of a king to know all these things with regard to the servants. And, he should appoint such servants who are intelligent, brave, capable and devoted.<sup>29</sup>

- 
25. अरैः संधार्यते निभिर्नाभौ चाराः प्रतिष्ठिताः ।  
स्वमिसेवकयोरेवं वृत्तिचक्रं प्रवर्तते ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā - i, verse - 89, p.28.*
26. शिरसा विधृता नित्यं स्नेहेन परिपालिताः ।  
केशा अपि विरज्यन्ते निःस्नेहाः किं न सेवकाः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā - i, verse - 90, p.28.*
27. राजा तुष्टो हि भृत्यानामर्थमात्रं प्रयच्छति ।  
ते तु संमानमात्रेण प्राणैरप्युपकुर्वते ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā - i, verse - 91, p.28.*
28. मृतानां स्वामिनः कार्ये भृत्यानामनुवर्तिनाम् ।  
भवेत्स्वर्गोऽक्षयो वासः कीर्तिश्च धरणीतले ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā - xi, verse - 321, p.131.*
29. एवं ज्ञात्वा नरेन्द्रेण भृत्याः कार्या विचक्षणाः ।  
कुलीनाः शौर्यसंयुक्ताः शक्ता भक्ताः क्रमागताः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā - i, verse - 92, p.28.*

He is verily a true friend of the king, who, having done a good service to king and having performed difficult to accomplish says nothing about it through modesty.<sup>30</sup>

If the king unhesitatingly entrust the servant with responsible work and remains silent, then that servant would become beneficial like second wife.<sup>31</sup>

He is deserving servant who approaches the king only on his command, who waits upon at his door, who speaks the truth in a measured words.<sup>32</sup>

That servant is considered as very good who makes efforts for the removal of destructive to the interest of the king.<sup>33</sup>

That servant becomes most useful to the king who does not think of misfortune to his 'Lord' even if he is beaten or reprovved in harsh words.<sup>34</sup>

- 
30. यः कृत्वा सुकृतं राज्ञो दुष्करं हितमुत्तमम् ।  
लज्जया वक्ति नो किञ्चित्तेन राजा सहायवान् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā - i, verse - 93, p.29.*
31. यस्मिन्कृत्यं समावेश्य निर्विशङ्केन चेतसा ।  
आस्यते सेवकः स स्यात्कलत्रमिव चापरम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā - i, verse - 94, p.29.*
32. योऽनाहूतः समभ्येति द्वारि तिष्ठति सर्वदा ।  
पृष्टः सत्यं मितं ब्रूते स भृत्योऽर्हो महीभुजाम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā - i, verse - 95, p.29.*
33. अनादिष्टोऽपि भूपस्य दृष्ट्वा हानिकरं च यः ।  
यतते तस्य नाशाय स भृत्योऽर्हो महीभुजाम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā - i, verse - 96, p.29.*
34. ताडितोऽपि दुरुक्तोऽपि दण्डितोऽपि महीभुजा ।  
यो न चिन्तयते पापं स भृत्योऽर्हो महीभुजाम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā - i, verse - 97, p.29.*



He is called a good servant who is not proud due to king's favour and who does not feel afflicted and who does not feel afflicted due to insult. Thus, he conceals himself his feelings of honour and insult.<sup>35</sup>

He is called a devoted servant who does not mind hunger, sleep, cold heat etc. when he needs to serve his Lord.<sup>36</sup>

Having listen to the news of the battle, he who becomes prepared to assist the king with pleasing face is regarded as good servant.<sup>37</sup>

On the appointment of the servant if the province of the kingdom is widened in gradual course like the moon in the *Śuklapakṣa*, then such servant is considered by the king as auspicious omen and such a servant is fit to be abundant, on whose appointment if he needs with contraction in his kingdom province.<sup>38</sup>

- 
35. न गर्व कुरुते माने नापमाने च तप्यते ।  
स्वाकारं रक्षयेद्यस्तु स भृत्योऽर्हो महीभुजाम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā* - i, verse - 98, p.29.
36. न क्षुधा पीड्यते यस्तु निद्रया न कदाचन ।  
न च शीतातपाद्यैश्च स भृत्योऽर्हो महीभुजाम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā* - i, verse - 99, p.30.
37. श्रुत्वा सांग्रामिकीं वार्तां भविष्यां स्वामिनं प्रति ।  
प्रसन्नास्यो भवेद्यस्तु स भृत्योऽर्हो महीभुजाम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā* - i, verse - 100, p.30.
38. सीमा वृद्धिं समायाति शुक्लपक्ष इवोडुराट् ।  
नियोगसंस्थिते यस्मिन् स भृत्योऽर्हो महीभुजाम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā* - i, verse - 101, p.30.

While narrating the story of Dantila, Viṣṇuśarmā highlights the point that a person who remains in association with the king in any capacity would be received well by the society. In precise, “A servant becomes honoured in the royal family everywhere even if he is not well received due to the fact of his service to the foolish king and not high born.”<sup>39</sup>

Even if the servant of a king is a timid one, he would not be defeated by any person because he has such protection by the king.<sup>40</sup>

Servants leave a king, from whom no benefit accrues although he be high-born and high-spirited, as birds leave a fruitless tree though deep rooted and lofty.<sup>41</sup>

•Servants, although high-born, devoted and having honours bestowed on them do leave a king when their allowance is withheld.<sup>42</sup>

- 
39. अकुलीनोऽपि मूर्खोऽपि भूपालं योऽत्र सेवते ।  
अपि सम्मानहीनोऽपि स सर्वत्र प्रपूज्यते ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā* - iii, verse - 159, p.50.
40. अपि कापुरुषो भीरुः स्याच्चेन्नृपतिसेवकः ।  
तथापि न पराभूतिं जनादाप्नोति मानवः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā* - iii, verse - 160, p.50.
41. फलहीन नृपं भृत्याः कुलीनमपि चोन्नतम् ।  
सन्त्यज्यान्यत्र गच्छन्ति शुष्कं वृक्षमिवाण्डजाः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā* - iii, verse - 163, p.54.
42. अपि सम्मानसंयुक्ताः कुलीना भक्तितत्पराः ।  
वृत्तिभङ्गान्महीपालं त्यजन्त्येव हि सेवकाः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā* - iii, verse - 164, p.54.

Perhaps, there might be some royal officials denouncing the king even if they are paid at proper time; but hearing the words of denouncement devoted servants never give up their kings as they have such fast attachment to him.<sup>43</sup>

All the qualities of a servant and his behaviour highlighted by Viṣṇuśarmā are in harmony with Kauṭilya's statements. He has a special chapter entitled "Aṇujīvirṭtam" in the fifth *Adhikaraṇa* wherein he describes the duties, characteristics of servant in different contexts.

According to Kauṭilya, a servant of a king needs to have enough experience of the world and its affairs. Such person may court the favour of any king throughout his service.<sup>44</sup>

Servants of the king according to Kauṭilya, required to possess the knowledge of sciences, and they should see that there would be no contradiction from the king regarding their service. It is said that his position stands secured in the time of necessity, if asked by the king he should give his opinion about the schemes with much consideration keeping in harmony with the principles of righteousness and economy.<sup>45</sup>

43. कालातिक्रमणं वृत्तेर्यो न कुर्वीत भूपतिः ।

कदाचित्तं न मुञ्चन्ति भर्त्सिता अपि सेवकाः ॥

*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā - i, verse - 165, p.54.*

44. लोकयात्रावित् राजानं आत्मद्रव्यप्रकृति सम्पन्नं प्रियहितद्वारेण आश्रयेत् ॥

*Arthaśāstra, V Adhikaraṇa (yogavṛttam), IV Adhyāya, p.308.*

45. आत्मवति लब्धावकाशः शास्त्रानुयोगं दद्यात् । अविस्वादद्धि स्थानस्थैर्यमवाप्नोति । मतिकर्मसु पृष्टः तदात्वे च आयत्यां च धर्मार्थसंयुक्तं समर्थं प्रवीणवदपरिषद्दीरुः कथयेत् ।

*Arthaśāstra, V Adhikaraṇa (yogavṛttam), IV Adhyāya, p.308.*

It is further pinpointed that the servant should avoid speaking slyly against the opinion of any member of the assembly and he should never make incredible or false statements.<sup>46</sup>

Further, the rules to be followed by servants are enumerated by Kauṭilya as below.

When asked, he should tell the king what is both good and pleasing, but not what is bad, though pleasing. If the king is pleased to listen, he may secretly tell what though unpleasant is good.

He may even keep silence, but should never describe what is hateful, by obtaining from talking of what the king hates, even undesirable persons have become powerful when, seeing that the king likes only pleasant things without caring for their evil consequences, they have followed his will.<sup>47</sup>

46. आदिष्टः प्रदिष्टायां भूमावनुज्ञातः प्रविशेत् । उपविशेच्च पार्श्वतस्सन्निकृष्टः विप्रकृष्टः परासनं विगृह्य कथनमसभ्यप्रत्यक्षमश्रद्धेयमनृतं च वाक्यमुच्चैरनर्मणि हासं, वातप्लीवने च शब्दवती न कुर्यात् ।  
*Arthaśāstra, V Adhikaraṇa (yogavṛttam), IV Adhyāya, p.308-309.*

47. पृष्टः प्रियहितं ब्रूयान्न ब्रूयादहितं प्रियम् ।  
अप्रियं वा हितं ब्रूयाच्छेष्वतोऽनुमतो मिथः ॥१७९॥  
*Arthaśāstra, V Adhikaraṇa (yogavṛttam), IV Adhyāya, p.309.*  
तूष्णीं वा प्रतिवाक्ये स्यात् द्वेष्यादींश्च न वर्णयेत् ।  
अप्रिया अपि दक्षास्युः तद्वावाद्ये बहिष्कृताः ॥१८०॥  
*Arthaśāstra, V Adhikaraṇa (yogavṛttam), IV Adhyāya, p.309.*  
अनर्थाश्च प्रिया दृष्ट्वा चित्तज्ञानानुवर्तिनः ।  
अभिहास्येष्वभिहसेद्घोरहासांश्च वर्जयेत् ॥१८१॥  
*Arthaśāstra, V Adhikaraṇa (yogavṛttam), IV Adhyāya, p.309*  
परात्सङ्क्रामयेद्घोरं न च घोरं परे वदेत् ।  
तितिक्षेतात्मनश्चैव क्षमावान् पृथिवीसमः ॥१८२॥  
*Arthaśāstra, V Adhikaraṇa (yogavṛttam), IV Adhyāya, p.310.*

Besides, Kauṭilya remarks that since servant's duties are very difficult to carry out, the servant should give more importance to self-protection. It is said "self-protection shall be the first and constant thought of a wise man; for the life of a man under the service of a king is aptly compared to life in fire; whereas, fire burns a part or the whole of the body, if at all, the king has the power either to destroy or to advance the whole family, consisting of sons and wives of his servants."<sup>48</sup>

As for as the rules to be followed by the attendants of a king Viṣṇuśarmā has taken due care in the *Mitrabheda* while explaining the story of Piṅgalaka and Sañjivaka. The author suggests the plans of Damanaka to secure ministership by wrong means. As stated in the text, both *Karataka* and Damanaka desired to gain the confidence of their king Piṅgalaka. For, Damanaka explains the way in which an attendant should behave before the king. In this context he reads some views as below.

A person of subordinate class and evil-intellect, if speaks before the king without his permission, will be not only disregarded but also become a butt of redicule.<sup>49</sup>

- 
48. आत्मरक्षा हि सततं पूर्व कार्या विजानता ।  
अग्नाविव हि संप्रोक्ता वृत्ती राजोपजीविनाम् ॥  
*Arthaśāstra*, V *Adhikaraṇa* (*yogavṛttam*), IV *Adhyāya*, p.310.
49. अप्रष्टोऽत्रप्रधानो यो ब्रूते राज्ञः पुरः कुधीः ।  
न केवलमसम्मानं लभते च विडम्बनम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra*, *Mitrabheda*, *Kathā* - 1, verse - 33, p.16.

Only such words should be spoken of before the king, which would yield proper fruit. And the effect of such words will remain for longer time, just the red colour put on the white cloth.<sup>50</sup>

A person who listens to the king's words and does not reply in harsh way and would not laugh aloud in front of him, such a person would be liked by the king.<sup>51</sup>

That person who does not think about his hunger, sleep, cold, wind, fire etc., that means, a person who does not think about himself and think about the king, is capable of being a servant.<sup>52</sup>

Such person when beaten, scolded punished does not talk back to the king, and who obeys his order and wishes good for the king is capable of being a servant.<sup>53</sup>

These rules laid down by Viṣṇuśarmā through Damanaka, may be said to be the reflections of Kauṭilya's words as below :

- 
50. वचस्तत्र प्रयोक्तव्यं यत्रोक्तं लभते फलम् ।  
स्थायी भवति चात्यन्तं रागः शुक्लपटे यथा ।  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā* - 1, verse - 34, p.16.
51. प्रोक्तं प्रत्युत्तरं नाह विरुद्धं प्रभुणा न यः ।  
न समीपे हसत्युच्चैः स भवेद्राजवल्लभः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā* - 1, verse - 61, p.22.
52. न क्षुधा पीड्यते यस्तु निद्रया न कदाचन ।  
न च शीतातपाद्यैश्च स भृत्योऽर्हो महीभुजाम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā* - 1, verse - 99, p.30.
53. ताडितोऽपि दुरुक्तोऽपि दण्डितोऽपि महीभुजा ।  
यो न चिन्तयते पापं स भृत्योऽर्हो महीभुजाम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā* - 1, verse - 97, p.29.

When asked, he should tell the king what is both good and pleasing, but not what is bad, though pleasing; if the king is pleased to listen, he may secretly tell what though unpleasant, is good.<sup>54</sup>

He may even keep silence, but should never describe what is hateful; by abstaining from talking of what the king hates, even undesirable persons have become powerful when, seeing that the king likes only pleasant things without caring for their evil consequences, they have followed his will.<sup>55</sup>

While laughing in jest he should avoid loud laughter, he should avoid evil aspersions against others, nor ascribe evil others; he shall forgive evil done to himself and have as much forbearance as the earth.<sup>56</sup>

Self protection should be the first and constant thought of a wise man; for, the life of a man under the service of a king is aptly compared to life in fire; whereas fire burns a part or the whole of the body, if at all, the king has the power either to destroy or to

- 
54. पृष्टः प्रियहितं ब्रूयान्न ब्रूयादहितं प्रियम् ।  
अप्रियं वा हितं ब्रूयाच्छृण्वतोऽनुमतो मिथः ॥  
*Arthasāstra, V Adhikaraṇa (yogavṛttam), IV Adhyāya, verse - 179, p.309.*
55. तूष्णीं वा प्रतिवाक्ये स्यात् द्वेष्यादींश्च न वर्णयेत् ।  
अप्रिया अपि दक्षास्युः तद्भावाद्ये बहिष्कृताः ॥  
*Arthasāstra, V Adhikaraṇa (yogavṛttam), IV Adhyāya, verse - 180, p.309.*
56. अनर्थांश्च प्रिया दृष्ट्वा चित्तज्ञानानुवर्तिनः ।  
अभिहास्येष्वभिहसेद्घोरहासांश्च वर्जयेत् ॥  
*Arthasāstra, V Adhikaraṇa (yogavṛttam), IV Adhyāya, verse - 181, p.309.*

advance the whole family, consisting of sons and wives of his servants.<sup>57</sup>

Thus, one finds a clear reflection of Kauṭilya's words into that Viṣṇuśarmā.

### **The shaking off of the aggregate of the six enemies :**

A close survey of the *Pañcatantra* makes it clear that “control over the senses” and “shaking off six enemies” are also requisite qualifications of the king, who establishes sovereignty. That is why, *Kauṭilya* has made a separate chapter called *Indriyajaya* with regard to the king. Perhaps, there are few references to *Indriyajaya* in the *Pañcatantra*. But, all such references have indirect approach to the aspect of *control over the senses*. Of course, some scenes and general statements in the *Pañcatantra* speak of the destruction of one's belongings, because of anger, lust, greed, egoism etc. Yet, they remain with the want of full-fledged approach to the aspect of *Indriyajaya*. So much so that, this aspect is left without due consideration in the context.

## **2. Amātya (Minister)**

The *Minister* forms the second important element of the sovereignty. This element may be studied under the following heads.

---

57. परात्सङ्क्रामयेद्घोरं न च घोरं परे वदेत् ।  
तितिक्षेतात्मनश्चैव क्षमावान् पृथिवीसमः ॥

*Arthasāstra*, V *Adhikaraṇa* (*yogavṛttam*), IV *Adhyāya*, verse - 182, p.310.



- i. The need of minister.
- ii. His qualifications.
- iii. His responsibilities.
- iv. Their relationship with administration.

Before giving the explanation of the need of minister, it is worthy to note that the *minister* is connoted by the technical terms – *amātya*, *saciva*, and *mantri*. Of these, the latter two are more or less synonyms. Basing on Kauṭilya's statement that the king "having divided the spheres of their powers and having definitely taken into consideration the place and time where and when they have to work, such persons should be employed, (*mantriṇaḥ*) but as ministerial officers"<sup>58</sup> (*amātyaḥ*), it can be inferred that the *amātyas* are, on the whole inferior to *mantris*. However, there is no wrong to consider all the three categories officers as being of the same-executive importance.

### **i. The need of Ministers**

Kauṭilya expresses the need of ministers in the progressive surroundings in which he lived, in the following manner. Sovereignty is possible only with the assistance. A single wheel can never move. Hence king should employ ministers and hear their opinion.<sup>59</sup>

- 
58. विभज्यामात्यविभवं देशकालौ च कर्म च ।  
अमात्यास्सर्व एवैते कार्यास्युर्न तु मंत्रिणः ॥  
*Arthaśāstra*, I *Adhikaraṇa*, VIII *Adhyāya*, p.25.
59. सहायसाध्यं राजत्वं चक्रमेकं न वर्तते ।  
कुर्वीत सचिवान् तस्मात् तेषां च श्रुणुयान् मतम् ॥  
*Arthaśāstra*, I *Adhikaraṇa*, VIII *Adhyāya*, p.22.

The *Pañcatantra* too holds the principle that government should be conducted not only by the will of a solitary person, but with the aid of the councillors whose advice is to be respected by the sovereign.

There are many examples in the *Pañcatantra* illustrating that howsoever strong the king could be, he cannot execute the things without the assistance of his subordinates. Knowing this truth of administration, Meghavarṇa, the king of crows, was requested to call a counsel of ministers, to find out the cause for Arimardana's action could effectively be checked.<sup>60</sup>

So also, after narrating the fourth story of a serpent, the ministers of Arimardana held a consultation to form the opinion regarding Sthirajīvi's retaining in their cave.

Many such examples prove that king becomes a successful in his dealings by the support of his assistants.

## ii. His qualifications

Kauṭilya is very explicit in laying down the qualifications of minister. He writes thus :

He should be native, born of high family, influential well-trained in arts, possessed of foresight, wise or strong memory,

---

60. तस्मादेकान्तमासाद्य कार्यो मन्त्रो महीपते ।  
येन तस्य वयं कुर्मो नियमं कारणं तथा ॥

*Pañcatantra, Kākolukīyam* verse - 6, p. 3.

bold, eloquent, skillful, intelligent, possessed of enthusiasm, dignity and endurance, pure in character, affable, firm in loyal devotion, endowed with excellent conduct, strength, health and bravery, free from procrastination and fickle-mindedness, affectionate, and free from such qualities as excite hatred and enmity. These are the qualifications of a ministerial officer. Such as are possessed of one-half or one-quarter of the above qualifications come under middle and low ranks.<sup>61</sup>

Keeping all these qualities of the minister as the basis, Viṣṇuśarmā has sketched the characters playing the role of ministers in different contexts of *Pañcatantra*.

Although there is invariable concomitance between the minister and the king to run the administration of the kingdom, a powerful king sometimes thinks of himself to be capable enough in the administrative affairs. Yet, the necessity of minister cannot be ignored especially when the king is in adversity. Pointing to this fact, Viṣṇuśarmā while narrating the story of Piṅgalaka, elucidates the necessity of the minister. In other words, while Piṅgalaka came to know the arrival of a strong but unfamiliar animal to the forest, he sought for the help to his minister called Damanaka for the removal of his fear

---

61. जानपदोऽभिजातः स्ववग्रहः कृतशिल्पश्चक्षुष्मान् प्राज्ञो धारयिष्णुर्दक्षो वाग्मी प्रगल्भः प्रतिपत्तिमानुत्साहप्रभावयुक्तः क्लेशसहश्चुचिर्मेत्रो दृढभक्तिशीलबलारोग्यसत्त्वसंयुक्तः स्तम्भचापत्यवर्जितस्संप्रियो वैराणामकर्तेत्यमात्यसम्पत् । अतः पादार्यगुणहीनौ मध्य मावरौ ॥

*Arthaśāstra*, I *Adhikaraṇa* (*Vinayādikaraṇa*), IX *Adhyāya*, p.25.

for newly arrived animal. Knowing the adversity of Piṅgalaka, the minister said the following words :

A king does not follow or act up to the advice of his ministers, either through gentility or friendship, until a calamity overtakes him.<sup>62</sup>

A king perpetually in trouble is to the advantage of ministers, hence ministers desire a king to be in adverse circumstances.<sup>63</sup>

This illustration makes it clear, that the responsibilities borne by the minister are really more than a king.

In this respect, Kauṭilya's statement is noteworthy : "The minister should avert the calamities in which the king is involved. Suspecting the fear of the death, the king, the minister should consult with his friends and followers."<sup>64</sup>

Similarly, another example of Arimardana's falling into the calamities and Raktākṣa's efforts to protect his king are in perfect conformity with Kauṭilya's statement above.

---

62. न कौलिन्यान्न सौहार्दान्नृपो वाक्ये प्रवर्तते ।  
मन्त्रिणां यावदभ्येति व्यसनं शोकमेव च ॥

*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā* - II, verse - 127, p. 38.

63. सदैवापदूगतो राजा भोग्यो भवति मन्त्रिणाम् ।  
अत एव हि वाञ्छन्ति मन्त्रिणः सापदं नृपम् ॥

*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda Kathā* - II, verse - 128, p. 39.

64. राजव्यसनमेवममात्यः प्रतिकुर्वीत । प्रागेवमरणाबाधभयाद्राजः प्रियहितोपग्रहेण मासाद्विमासान्तरं दर्शनं स्थापयेत् ।

*Arthasāstra, V Adhikaraṇa (Yogavṛttam), VI Adhyāya* p. 313.

### iii. His responsibilities &

### iv. His relationship with Administration

Regarding the calamities of either the king or the minister, *Bhāradvāja's* opinion is found accorded with that of *Viṣṇuśarmā*. He says - "of the calamities with the king and of his minister, ministerial calamity is more serious. In ministerial distress, the king's life itself comes into danger, for a minister is the main stay of the security of the king's life. *Kauṭilya* of course, does not agree to *Bhāradvāja's* opinion. Verily, according to *Kauṭilya* it is the king on whom everything depends.<sup>65</sup>

. In the third *tantra* (*Kākolukiyam*) of the *Pañcatantra*, *Raktākṣa* a minister of king *Arimardana* is portrayed as a faithful one. He was a true politician. Therefore, when there was a question before *Arimardana* regarding the provision for *Sthirajīvi's* stay in their cave, it was *Raktākṣa* who cared much for protecting his king from danger. But, *Arimardana* asked the opinion of *Raktākṣa* who instantly suggested that there was no scope for any other alternative than killing *Sthirajīvi* as the latter was their enemy. Hence, enemy should be killed before he

---

65. स्वाम्यमात्यव्यसनयोरमात्यव्यसनं गरीयः इति । मन्त्रो मन्त्रफलावाप्तिः कर्मानुष्ठानमायव्ययकर्म दण्डाप्रणयनममित्राट-वीप्रतिषेधः राज्यरक्षणं व्यसनप्रतीकारः कुमाररक्षणमभिषेकश्चकुमाराणा मायत्तममात्येषु । तेषां अभावे तदभाव-श्छिन्नपक्षस्येव राज्ञश्चेष्टानाशो व्यसनेषु चासन्नाः परोपजापाः । वैगुण्ये च प्राणबाधः प्राणान्तिकचरत्वाद्राज्ञ इति । न इति कौटिल्यः ।

*Arthasāstra*, VIII *Adhikaraṇa* (*Vyasanādhikārikam*), I *Adhyāya*, pp.396-97.

grew strong. Because he might become invincible within a very short period by obtaining physical strength of his army.<sup>66</sup>

In the portrayal of the character of Raktākṣa in the *Kākolukīya* he is found to have possessed of some basic qualities of a devoted minister, i.e. he had a flashing intelligence in narrating moral stories to make Arimardana wakeful. In precise, when Raktākṣa was to convince Arimardana, regarding latter's daring action to kill Sthirajīvi, he narrated the story of a brahmin called Haridatta, wherein the serpent being beaten by brahmin-son did not let him free but killed and even at the behest of Haridatta squarely rejected his association with himself (serpent) as the former one was considered as enemy. At the end of this story, Raktākṣa unhesitatingly concludes that if the Sthirajīvi be killed, our kingdom would be free from adversities without any efforts.

Raktākṣa being faithful minister to Arimardana did not like the opinions of other ministers in favour of *Sthirajīvi*. Raktākṣa was knowing the envious traits of Meghavarṇa. Raktākṣa, in this situation, did recollect the past and personal bad experience due to Meghavarṇa. Raktākṣa was always taking strategic actions to kill Meghavarṇa.

---

66. हीनः शत्रुर्निहन्तव्यो यावन्न बलवान्भवेत् ।  
प्राप्तस्वपौरुषबलः पश्चाद्भवति दुर्जयः ॥

*Pañcatantra, Kākolukīyam Kathā* - 4, verse - 130, p. 48.

·This is how he was striving hard to protect the life of his king.

At this juncture, Kauṭilya's words may be recollected conveying the nature of a devoted minister of a king. He states that the king shall employ as his minister such a person who proves faithful to him under difficulties fatal to life and is of tried devotion.

This very lively example showing Raktākṣa's loyal devotion to his king, is well in tune with Kauṭilya's statement describing the essential good qualities of a minister. His statements include the faculty of "*Skillfulness and flashing intelligence from power shown in narrating the stories (Kathāyogeṣu)*"<sup>67</sup> as one among basic qualities of a minister.

In contrast with a good minister, Viṣṇuśarmā, is very alert in referring to a cruel minister, whom a king should avoid.

In the Piṅgalaka's story, Damanaka thinks that, if Piṅgalaka were to give the ministership of the kingdom to Sañjīvaka due to his close friendship for the latter, then the king would perish.<sup>68</sup>

---

67. कथायोगेषु वाग्मित्वं प्रागल्भ्यं प्रतिभानवत्त्वं च ।

· *Arthasāstra*, I *Adhikaraṇa* (*Vinayādhikarikam*), IX *Adhyāya*, p. 25 & 26.

68. निर्विण्णस्य पदं करोति हृदये तस्य स्वतन्त्रसृहा ।

स्वातन्त्र्यसृहया ततः स नृपतेः प्राणेष्वभिद्रुह्यते ।

*Pañcatantra*, *Mitrabheda*, *Kathā* - 8, verse - 263, p. 106.



Such feeling to kill his king himself makes home in the *egoistic* minister. Therefore, egoism for minister is indeed injurious.

. After approaching Sañjivaka, Damanaka said to the former that a minister who unveils the secret of the administration, destroys the activities of the king, and finally leads to the hell. Moreover, the minister, who disclose the secret policy of a king, causes the murder without a weapon.<sup>69</sup>

Further, it is said that due to the influence of ministers who are detrimental to the welfare of the king and kingdom, the subjects will have to suffer; and therefore, those subjects stop serving their king, just as a lake full of crocodiles though having sweet water remains unserved by the people.<sup>70</sup>

### 3. *Janapada* (Country)

So far as the third element of sovereignty i.e. *Janapada* (country) is concerned, Kauṭilya gives all the details of the

---

69. यो मन्त्रं स्वामिनो भिद्यात्साचिव्ये सन्नियोजितः ।  
स हत्वा नृपकार्यं तत्स्वयं च नरकं व्रजेत् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, verse - 295, p. 120.*

येन यस्य कृतो भेदः सचिवेन महीपतेः ।  
तेनाशस्त्रवधस्तस्य कृत इत्याह नारदः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, verse - 296, p. 120.*

70. गुणलयोऽप्यसन्मन्त्री नृपतिर्नाधिगम्यते ।  
प्रसन्नस्वादुसलिलो दुष्टग्राह्यो यथा हृदः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, verse - 415, p. 172.*



capital cities both in the centre and the extremities of the kingdom wherein the productivity of subsistence to all people, cattle and forest animals, is given all excessible possessions. But, Viṣṇuśarmā in his *Pañcatantra* is found scarce to provide the subject-matter dealing with the element of *Janapada*. Therefore, it is here not taken into consideration.

#### 4. *Durga* (Fort)

In the elucidation of the elements of the state, one can see again, that the ancient Indian political thought was continuous. When we first come across the term *durga* meaning a fort in the *R̥gveda*, it was used in the sense of a fort, or a stronghold. It was synonymous with *pur*, meaning a rampart, or fort, or stronghold. That even in the Vedic times; there were two kinds of forts is clear from the use of the terms *Pr̥thivi* or broad, and *urvi*, or wide forts. Forts of sun-dried bricks or stone (*aśmamāyī*) are mentioned in the *R̥gveda*. That fort in the *R̥gvedic* days were of considerable size is proved by the phrase “with a hundred walls” (*Śatabhuji*). Their self-sufficiency is suggested by the term “full of kind” (*gomati*) showing that forts were filled in with cattle evidently to provide the defendants with food in case of a prolonged siege.

While dealing with the measures conducive to peace or one’s protection, Kauṭilya says in the absence of any help from superior kings during the attack of enemy, he should seek

shelter inside a fort, wherein his enemy cannot offer any obstruction.<sup>71</sup>

The fort (*durga*) is the fourth element of sovereignty which Kauṭilya has discussed in detail in the *third* and *fourth Adhyāyas* of the *second Adhikaraṇa*. Therein, he has dealt with the method of constructing the fort, buildings within the fort etc.

Here itself, a specification is shown that defensive fortification has to be made by king to protect his kingdom against an enemy in the war. Such forts on the grounds are preferred as best fitted for the purpose.<sup>72</sup> The main purpose of fortification is referred to by Viṣṇuśarmā with a very few words as below :

Of course, some of the essential elements of the fort that are explained by Kauṭilya, are taken into account in the *Pañcatantra*. To be explicit, the story of Bhāsuraka (a lion) and a rabbit in the *Mitrabheda*, reads some references to the fort. The rabbit who was engaged in accomplishing his plan of killing Bhāsuraka, told the latter with credible words, that not only himself but all animal-subjects were terrified by another lion

---

71. सहायाभावे दुर्गमाश्रयेत यत्रामित्रः प्रभूतसैन्योऽपि भक्तयवसेन्धनोदकोपरोधं न कुर्यात् ।  
*Arthasāstra* VII *Adhikaraṇa* (*Śādgūṇyam*) XV *Adhyāya*, p. 379.

72. चतुर्दिशं जनपदान्ते साम्प्रदायिकं दैवकृतं दुर्गं कारयेत् ।  
*Arthasāstra* II *Adhikaraṇa* (*Adhyakṣapracāra*) III *Adhyāya*, p. 73.

which had taken shelter in the fort. In this context, the rabbit said that an enemy living in the fort remains invisible. The work which could not be accomplished by even thousands of elephants or lakhs together horses, may successfully be done by a king resorting the fort.<sup>73</sup> Further, basing on the approval of the scholars versed in the science of polity, Viṣṇuśarmā remarks that a bow-man though stationed alone behind a rempart of a fort, is capable of resisting a target of even a hundred soldiers of the enemy.<sup>74</sup>

So also, referring to a puranic legend of Nṛsimha incarnation, it is further said that formerly Indra, due to the fear from Hiranyakaśipu had a fort built up for him through the divine power of the divine architect – Viśvakarmā at the advice of his preceptor *Bṛhaspati*.<sup>75</sup>

At the same time, Viśvakarmā declared a boon that he who has the fort as one of the elements of sovereignty, becomes a victorious; and at the instance of this, thousands of forts were

- 
73. न गजानां, सहस्रेण न च लक्षेण वाजिनाम् ।  
यत्कृत्यं साध्यते राज्ञां दुर्गेणैकेन सिद्ध्यति ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda*, verse - 251, p. 102.  
repeated in *Mitrasamprāpti* Verse - 14, p.
74. शतमेकोऽपि संधत्ते प्राकारस्थो धनुर्धरः ।  
तस्माद् दुर्गं प्रशंसन्ति नीतिशास्त्रविचक्षणाः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda*, verse - 252, p. 102.
75. पुरा गुरोः समादेशाद्धिरण्यकशिपोर्भयात् ।  
शक्रेण विहितं दुर्गं प्रभावाद्भिश्चकर्मणः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda*, verse - 253, p. 103.

constructed on the earth. The essentiality of the element of fort providing protection to the king from the enemies, is further emphasized in a reverse effect i.e. just as a serpent devoid of poisonous teeth and an elephant devoid of rut, could be captured easily. So too, a king without fort could easily be attacked by any one.<sup>76</sup>

All these details point to the necessity of fort to the king for his being successful in the administrative dealings.

Besides, it is worthy of note that Kauṭilya has taken an element of *strength*, *place* and *time* into account suggesting that either a conqueror or an enemy who has resorted to the fort should make his appearance outside in urgency of need. If otherwise, one is killed by the other. Ofcourse, Kauṭilya has given equal importance to all these three elements as each is helpful to the other; while the opinions of other scholars as quoted by Kauṭilya indicate that one is better than the other. But, Kauṭilya's statement in this regard holds more significance. This is a suggestive sense of the opinion of Kauṭilya's teacher as below :

“Some say, that place is the best for the reason that a dog, seated in a convenient place can drag a crocodile, and that a

---

76. दंष्ट्राविरहितो नागो मदहीनो यथा गजः ।  
सर्वेषां जायते वश्यो दुर्गहीनस्तथा नृपः ॥

*Pañcatantra, Mitraheda*, verse - 255, p. 103.  
repeated in *Mitrasamprāpti* verse - 13.

crocodile in low ground can drag a dog. Others say that time is the best for the reason that during the day-time the crow kills the owl and that at night, the owl the crow.<sup>77</sup>

### 5. *Kośa* (Treasury)

*Kośa* or treasury is the fifth important element of the sovereignty. In the *Maṇḍalayoni Adhikaraṇa*, he just gives the nature of *Kośa* as below.

“Justly obtained either by inheritance or by self-acquisition, rich in gold and silver filled with an abundance of big gems of various colours and of good coins and capable to withstand calamities of long duration, is the best treasury.”<sup>78</sup>

In the other sense, the treasury means the collection of wealth accumulated from various sources by the king perhaps Kauṭilya has given prime importance to the wealth for smooth administration of the kingdom. “Kauṭilya holds that wealth, and wealth alone, is important, in as much as charity and desire depend upon wealth for their realiation.”<sup>79</sup>

77. शक्तिदेशकालानां तु शक्तिः श्रेयसि इत्याचार्यः । शक्तिमान् हि निम्नस्थलवतो देशस्य शीतोष्णवर्षवतश्च कालस्य शक्तः प्रतीकारे भवति । ‘देशः श्रेयान्’ इत्येके । स्थलगतो हि श्वा नक्रं विकर्षति, निग्नगतो नक्रश्श्वानमिति । ‘कालश्श्रेयान्’ इत्येके । दिवा काकः कौशिकं हन्ति । रात्रौ कौशिकः काकम् इति ।

नेति कौटिल्यः - परस्परसाधका हि शक्तिदेशकालाः ।

*Arthasāstra*, IX *Adhikaraṇa* (*Abhiyasyatkarmah*) I *Adhyāya*, p. 421.

78. धर्माधिगतः पूर्वैः स्वयं वा हेमरूप्यप्रायश्चित्रस्थूलरत्नहिरण्यो दीर्घामप्यापदमनायतिं सहेतेति कोशसम्पत् । *Arthasāstra*, VI *Adhikaraṇa* (*Maṇḍalayoni*) I *Adhyāya*, p. 319.

79. अर्थ एव प्रधानः इति कौटिल्यः - अर्थमूलो हि धर्मकामाविति ।

*Arthasāstra*, I *Adhikaraṇa*, (*Vinayadhikarikam*), VII *Adhyāya*, p. 21.

Holding the primacy of wealth Viṣṇuśarmā also writes about the importance and power of the wealth which may be experienced in daily life. However Viṣṇuśarmā's statements are rich with morals as below :

A friend of Tāmraçhūḍa opines that due to the power of wealth, person becomes enthusiastic and neglects all other things.<sup>80</sup> He who is possessed of wealth is regarded as wise one.<sup>81</sup>

In the absence of wealth all the virtues of a person get concealed which otherwise means, it is the wealth that illumines all the virtues of a person to the public.<sup>82</sup> Destitute of wealth is home of all adversities.<sup>83</sup> Person who devoid of wealth is considered as a begger before rich persons.<sup>84</sup> The wealth brings happiness but it is transitory.<sup>85</sup>

- 
80. यदुत्साही सदा मर्त्यः पराभवति यज्ञान् ।  
यदुद्धतं वदेद्वाक्यं तत्सर्वं वित्तजं बलम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 88, p. 37.
81. अर्थेन बलवान्सर्वोऽप्यर्थयुक्तः स पण्डितः ।  
पश्यैनं मूषकं व्यर्थं सजातेः समतां मतम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 89, p. 37.
82. सन्तोऽपि न हि राजन्ते दरिद्रस्येतरे गुणाः ।  
आदित्य इव भूतानां श्रीर्गुणानां प्रकाशिनी ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 93, p. 38.
83. मूर्तं लाघवमेवैतदपायानामिदं गृहम् ।  
पर्यायो मरणस्यायं निर्धनत्वं शरीरिणाम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 105, p. 41.
84. अधनो दातुकामोऽपि सम्प्राप्तो धनिनां गृहम् ।  
मन्यन्ते याचकोऽयं धिग्दारिद्र्यं खलु देहिनाम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 108, p. 41.
85. अभ्रच्छाया खलप्रीतिः सिद्धमन्नं च योषितः ।  
किञ्चित्कालोपभोग्यानि यौवनानि धनानि च ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 118, p. 50.

Desire of wealth for sake of accomplishing religious activities leads to good future.<sup>86</sup>

There is no other treasure than charity. There is no other wealth than happiness.<sup>87</sup> Absence of wealth in the form of self-respect is the ultimatum of poverty.<sup>88</sup> The residence of poverty-stricken man is equal to the sky devoid of stars fierce like funeral field.<sup>89</sup> Richness brings home all good qualities.<sup>90</sup>

Indeed, Kauṭilya has been found as most practical in the administrative affairs. For, he holds prime importance to the wealth. Basing on the principle of *Artha Viṣṇuśarmā*, has focussed his considerations in the *Pañcatantra*.

- 
86. धर्मार्थं यस्य वित्तेहा तस्यापि न शुभावहा ।  
प्रक्षालनाद्धि पङ्क्तस्य दूरादस्पर्शनं वरम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti, verse - 162, p. 66.*
87. दानेन तुल्यो निधिरस्ति नान्यो  
लोभाच्च नान्योऽस्ति रिपुः पृथिव्याम् ।  
विभूषणं शीलसमं न चान्यत्  
सन्तोषतुल्यं धनमस्ति नान्यत् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti, verse - 163, p. 66.*
88. दारिद्र्यस्य भूतिर्यन्मानद्रविणाल्पता ।  
जरद्गवधनः शर्वस्तथापि परमेश्वरः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti, verse - 164, p. 67.*
89. गननमिव नष्टतारकं शुष्कमिव सरः, श्मशानमिव रौद्रम् ।  
प्रियदर्शनमपि रुक्षं भवति गृहं धनविहीनस्य ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Apariksitakarakam, verse - 6, p. 4.*
90. विफलमिह पूर्वसुकृतं विद्यावन्तोऽपि कुलसमुद्भूताः ।  
यस्य यदा विभवः स्यात्तस्य तदा दासतां यान्ति ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Apariksitakarakam, verse - 9, p. 6.*

It is however an experience of one and all that a person who possesses the wealth, would certainly gain the love and affection of his friends and relatives. More and more society praises him as a scholar.<sup>91</sup>

This idea may be seen in the words of the *Pañcatantra*. This verse appears in the beginning of the *Mitrabheda*, wherein the story of a merchant called *Vardhamāna* is narrated.

This story tells that the merchant *Vardhamāna* considered the wealth to be everything in the life.

The story in brief runs as follows :

There was a merchant by name *Vardhamāna*. Throughout his life, he considered to have his main aim as earning the money. He said, there are six ways of earning money :

1. Begging (भिक्षा).
2. Earning by sweating i.e. working (राजकीय सेवा).
3. Earning money by making and selling art and its related activities. (विद्योपार्जन).
4. Agriculture (क्षेत्रकार्य).
5. Financing (वाणिज्य).
6. Business (व्यवहार).

---

91. यस्यार्थास्तस्य मित्राणि यस्यार्थास्तस्य बान्धवाः ।

यस्यार्थाः स पुमँल्लोके यस्यार्थाः स च पण्डितः ॥

*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathāmukha, verse - 3, p. 7.*



Of all these activities, he chose “business” through which he could earn well; and so much so, he took journey to the another country, along with his fellows and couple of bulls. During the journey, one of the bulls got wounded. Hence, the merchant *Vardhamāna* stopped his journey, stayed in the forest, and engaged in taking care of the bull. After three days, as per the suggestion made by his fellow friends, he proceeded further leaving the bull and two fellow-friends to take care of it. He also asked his friends to bring the bull after getting recouped. But, after some time, the two fellow-friends stopped taking care of the bull and thought of leaving that place without bull; they planned to tell lie that the wounded bull died. With this in the mind, they two left the place and joined their group.

The threads weaving the importance of the money are interwoven in a single and crisp sentence of Kauṭilya i.e.

‘अर्थ एव प्रधानः’ इति कौटिल्यः - अर्थमूलौ हि धर्मकामाविति ॥

It is noteworthy to point that the fellow merchants discontinued their journey and halted in the forest with a view to protecting the bull they had. After three days, other fellow-merchants said to *Vardhamāna* that all of them should not remain here in the forest for the sake of bull. Because in the acquisition of the wealth one should not stick to the present condition. In this context it is said, a wise man does not allow much to be destroyed for saving a little one or profit. In other

words, man's wisdom lies in a saving of much, at the cost of a little one.<sup>92</sup>

There are many such verses showing the primacy of wealth in other contexts of the *Pañcatantra* :

Only when there is money, a man is said to be having everything i.e. boldness, strength, art, sculpturing knowledge and one who can give charity. If money is not there, nothing is there. Even begger begs for money.<sup>93</sup>

On the basis of Kauṭilya's view in his statement 'अर्थ एव प्रधानः' Viṣṇuśarmā magnifies the primacy of wealth to be administrative aspects of the kingdom.

In this manner, it is crystal clear that following Kauṭilya, Viṣṇuśarmā has given primary importance to the wealth. But, the same author in some other context has given contrary view by declaring fie upon the wealth "धिगर्थाः कष्टसंश्रयाः". Of course, he has given sufficient reason to it, i.e., to earn money there is sorrow, to take care of such wealth is sorrow. Sorrow in earning, sorrow in spending it. Thus, such wealth itself is worth giving

---

92. न स्वल्पस्य कृते भूरि नाशयेन्मतिमान्नरः ।  
एतदेवात्र पाण्डित्यं यत्स्वल्पाद्भूरिरक्षणम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, verse - 19, p. 11.*

93. न सा विद्या न तद्दानं न तच्छिल्पं न सा कला ।  
न तत्स्थेर्यं हि धनिनां याचकैर्यन्न गीयतते ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, verse - 4, p. 7.*

up.<sup>94</sup> Thus, the former and latter statements leave a mutual contradiction and may be considered as one of the demerits of any author.

On the other hand, it may be said that this demerit is just apparent. For, one has to read properly the former and latter statements appearing to be contradictory in their contextual perspective. To understand the latter statement in its context one reads the story attached to it. It is - there was an ascetic named *Devaśarmā* who had a lot of wealth by fare and unfare means. Due to his utter greed for wealth, he did not ever trust on any one and kept all wealth with himself. Knowing this, another person of crooked nature, remained in close association with him and took away all the wealth accumulated by *Devaśarmā*. Owing to great loss of all wealth, *Devaśarmā* was very disgusted, and at last he spoke out the words “धिगर्थाः कष्टसंश्रयाः”.<sup>95</sup> Now, it is a point of introspection. No doubt, *Devaśarmā* had singular purpose of accumulating the money in the life even at the cost of his personality as an ascetic. And, according to *Viṣṇuśarmā* mere a acquisition of wealth is not the sole purpose of life. If it were to be so like *Devaśarmā*, then such wealth falls disregarded. In view of *Viṣṇuśarmā*,

---

94. अर्थानामर्जने दुःखमर्जितानां च रक्षणे ।

अये दुःखं व्यये दुःखं धिगर्थाः कष्टसंश्रयाः ॥

*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā* - 4, verse - 174, p. 57.

95. *Pañcatantra, Kathā* - 4, verse - 174, p. 57

acquisition of wealth is one of the facets of life to make the life successful and happy. There are many other goals to be achieved.

### 6. Daṇḍa (Army)

Although this *Daṇḍa* element, is dealt with its details in the *Arthaśāstra*, it finds no scope in the *Pañcatantra*. Therefore, it is not taken here for discussion.

### 7. Mitra (Friend)

'*Mitra*' or a '*friend*' is the seventh element of sovereignty. Indeed, a friend in association with the king does not hold as much administrative power as the minister has. Yet, before the eyes of the king, his friend occupies no less seat of honour than a minister. He happens to be king's bosom friend. He reads king's heart and does his duties for the welfare of the king and kingdom.

. Defining the term '*Mitra*' or friend in association with a king, Kauṭilya states that "he is regarded as the best friend of a king whose association with the king comes down directly from father and grandfather, who is long-standing, who is open to conviction, who never falls foul, and who is capable of making preparations for war quickly on a large scale."<sup>96</sup>

---

96. पितृपैतामहं नित्यं वश्यमद्वैध्यं महल्लघुसमुत्थमिति मित्रसम्पत् ।  
*Arthaśāstra*, VI *Adhikaraṇa* (*Maṇḍalayoni*), I *Adhyāya*, p.320.

In the same context, Kauṭilya enumerates the characteristic features of an enemy in contrast with a friend. Hence, the terms in the text like *lubdha*, *Kṣudrapariṣatka* etc. applied to an enemy may autonomously be taken as applying to the characteristics of a friend, like *alubdha*, *uttamapariṣatka* etc. Therefore, it would not be wrong to enumerate the qualities of a 'Mitra' as opposite to that of an enemy. They may be seen as below :

- 1) *Rajabīja* (Born of royal family or good family).
- 2) *Alubdha* (Ungreedy).
- 3) *Uttamapariṣatka* (Possessed of best assembly of ministers).
- 4) *Yukta Prakṛti* (Being with loyal subjects).
- 5) *Nyāya-vṛtti* (Doing always righteous deeds).
- 6) *Nirvyasani* (Devoid of ediction to mean pleasures).
- 7) *Utsāhi* (Enthusiastic).
- 8) *Prayatnapramāṇa* (Trusting to efforts).
- 9) *Anubandha* (Powerful).
- 10) *Kliba* (Potential).
- 11) *Nityopakāri* (Even doing good to others).

The qualities mentioned above may be considered as a suggestive and as being possessed by a friend associated with the king.

So for as the *Pañcatantra* is concerned, there are many references to a friend in general and in association with the king in particular. First of all, in the opening story of Piṅgalaka in the *Mitrabheda*. Damanaka and *Karataka* ponder over their duties to his king. In this context, *Karataka* describes in detail how a *Rājavallabha* or a friend associated to the king, should behave with his lord. Those are noted as below :

1. He is called *Rājavallabha* who desires long life to the king, who is clever in executing his duties without putting forth the doubts.<sup>97</sup>

2. He is called *Rājavallabha* who feels happy to accept the wealth as good acquisition when it is offered by his king, and who becomes pleased to wear the garments, ornaments etc. given by him. So also, *Rājavallabha* does not hold talk in private with the servants and wives of the king of the harem as it would lead to suspicion.<sup>98</sup>

---

97. जीविते प्रबुवन् प्रोक्तः कृत्याकृत्यविचक्षणः ।  
करोति निर्विकल्पं यः स भवेद्राजवल्लभः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, verse - 54, p. 21.*

98. प्रभुप्रसादजं वित्तं सुप्राप्तं यो निवेदयेत् ।  
वस्त्राद्यं च दधात्यङ्गे स भवेद्राजवल्लभः ॥  
अन्तपुरचरैः सार्धं यो न मन्त्रं समाचरेत् ।  
न कलत्रैरिन्द्रस्य स भवेद्राजवल्लभः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, verses - 55 & 56, p. 21.*

Further, he is called *Rājavallabha* who regards gambling as rightful as a messenger of Yama and the wives of the king as panthon.<sup>99</sup>

3. He is *Rājavallabha* who takes lead in war, who follows the king in the kingdom, and who waits upon the king at the door in the palace. Moreover, he who does not transgress the bounds of duty even in difficulties thinking that he is ever in high esteem with the king.<sup>100</sup>

He is *Rājavallabha* who is always intent upon showing hatred to those whom the king hates, and who acts agreeably towards those whom the king loves.<sup>101</sup>

It has already been noted that a good friend of a king should also belong to a royal family. Accordingly Viṣṇuśarmā also makes a suggestive reference to it and states that one should make friends who are one's equals, because a man who

---

99. द्यूतं यो यमदूताभं हालां हालाहालोपमाम् ।  
पश्येद्वारान् वृथाकारान् स भवेद्राजवल्लभः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, verses - 57, p.21.*

100. युद्धकालेऽग्रणीर्यः स्यात् सदा पृष्ठानुगः पुरे ।  
प्रभोर्द्वाराश्रितो हर्म्ये स भवेद्राजवल्लभः ॥  
सम्मतोऽहं विभोर्नित्यमिति मत्वा व्यतिक्रमेत् ।  
कृच्छ्रेष्वपि न मर्यादां स भवेद्राजवल्लभः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, verses - 58, 59, p. 21*

101. द्वेषिद्वेषपरो नित्यमिष्टानामिष्टकर्मकृत् ।  
यो नरो नरनाथस्य स भवेद्राजवल्लभः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, verse - 60, p. 22.*

Note : The term *Rājavallabha* may also be applied to *Rājasevaka*.

has friends accomplishes the objects, even such as are difficult to be accomplished.<sup>102</sup>

Laying stress on the same point, Viṣṇuśarmā exemplifies that the friendship and marriage are proper between those whose wealth is equal and not between the fat and the lean (rich and poor). The friendship in otherwise case becomes ridiculous.<sup>103</sup>

Evidently enough, the *Pañcatantra* in its *Mitrasamprāpti* makes many references to the characteristic features of true friend as revealed by Kauṭilya.

Referring to Kauṭilya's third type of friend of submissive nature i.e., *sarvatobhogi*, Viṣṇuśarmā makes a note that a good friend is one of the extra-ordinary elements, whoever gives the same delight to the host by his mere presence.<sup>104</sup>

Identifying a core importance of 'Mitra' in the elements of sovereignty, Kauṭilya recognises the real characteristic feature

---

102. मित्रवान्साधयत्यर्थान्दुः साध्यानपि वै यतः ।  
तस्मान्मित्राणि कुर्वीत समानान्येव चात्मनः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 27, p. 11

103. ययोरेव समं वित्तं ययोरेव समं कुलम् ।  
तयोमैत्री विवाहश्च न तु पुष्टविपुष्टयोः ॥  
यो मित्रं कुरुते मूढ आत्मनोऽसदृशं कुधीः ।  
हीनं वाप्यधिकं वापि हास्यतां यात्यसौ जनः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 29 and 30, p. 12.

104. सुहृदो भवने यस्य समागच्छन्ति नित्यशः ।  
चित्ते च तस्य सौख्यस्य न किञ्चित्प्रतिमं सुखम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 18, p. 7.



of friendship which lies in giving help. He makes a statement that a friend of submissive nature though temporary, will be a true-friend so long as he is helpful.<sup>105</sup> He observes the minute details of the nature and characteristic features of a friend as conducive to the establishment of sovereignty, and further gives the cordinal aspects of a good friend. They are long-standing, submissive, easy to be roused, come from father and grand fathers, powerful, never of a contradictory nature.<sup>106</sup>

Under the aspects of *long-standing* nature of the friend, Kauṭilya says, he should maintain friendship with disinterested motives. Submissive type of friend is classified into three as –

- 1) *Ekatobhogi* (he who is enjoyable only by one).
- 2) *Ubhayatobhogi* (one who is enjoyable by two i.e. enemy and the conqueror).<sup>107</sup>
- 3) *Sarvatobhogi* (one who is enjoyable by all).

105. नित्यमल्पभोगं श्रेयः । महाभोगमनित्यमुपकारभयादपक्रामति । उपकृत्य वा प्रत्यादातुमीहते ।  
नित्यमल्पभोगं सातत्या-दल्पमुपकुर्वत् महता कालेन महदुपकरोति ।

*Arthasāstra*, VII *Adhikaraṇa* (*Śāddgunyam*), IX *Adhyāya*, p. 357.

106. नित्यं वश्यं लघूत्थानं पितृपैतामहं महत् ।  
अद्वैध्य चेति सम्पन्नं मित्रं षाड्गुण्यमुच्यते ॥

*Arthasāstra*, VII *Adhikaraṇa* (*Śāddgunyam*) IX *Adhyāya*, p. 359.

107. ऋते यदर्थं प्रणयाद्रक्ष्यते यश्च रक्षति ।  
पूर्वोपचितसम्बन्धं तन्मित्रं नित्यमुच्यते ॥

*Arthasāstra*, VII *Adhikaraṇa* (*Śāddgunyam*) IX *Adhyāya*, p. 359.

सर्वचित्रमहाभोगं त्रिविधं वश्यमुच्यते ।  
एकतोभोग्यभयंतः सर्वतोभोगि चापरम् ॥

*Arthasāstra*, VII *Adhikaraṇa* (*Śāddgunyam*) IX *Adhyāya*, p. 359.

Referring to long-standing friendship, it is said that the friendship of good men in the beginning is very thin, but gradually it increases like the shadow of an object in the second half of the day.<sup>108</sup>

So long as long-standing feature of a true friend is concerned, Mantharaka (a tortoise) makes a significant statement seeing *Laghu-patanaka* (a crow) approaching him together with *Hiraṇyaka* (a mouse) on his back. One should secure that friend most desirable one, whose mind never undergoes any change in prosperity and who ever remains as true friend. Moreover, he who continues to be a friend when the time of adversity comes, is a true friend.<sup>109</sup>

Here the phrase – विकारं याति नो चित्तं “*undergoing no change*” directly invests Kauṭilya’s word ‘अद्वैध्यं’ (uncontradictory nature) as being one of the six features of the friend.

A true friend of the king, Viṣṇuśarmā suggests, brings the goddess of wealth to the kingdom itself, as he is endowed with attractive qualities. Such a friend inherits with power of

---

108. आरम्भगुर्वी क्षयिणी क्रमेण लघ्वी पुरा वृद्धमती च पश्चात् ।  
 दिनस्य पूर्वार्धपरार्धभिन्ना छायेव मैत्री खलसञ्जनानाम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 39, p. 15.

109. विकारं याति नो चित्तं वित्ते यस्य कदाचन ।  
 मित्रं स्यत्सर्वकाले च कारयेन्मित्रमुत्तमम् ॥  
 आपत्काले तु संप्राप्ते यन्मित्रं मित्रमेव तत् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 114 & 116, p. 49.

enthusiasm, industriousness knowledge of theory and practice of administrative policies. Such friend is not addicted to vices, who is brave, grateful and firm in friendship.<sup>110</sup>

Again in connection with helping feature of a true friend, *Citrāṅga* (a deer) speaks out the truth of friendship before *Laghupatanaka* (a crow) when the former's life was at stake, i.e. "If a friend is seen when loss of life is at hand, it brings consolation to both afterwards" because there is no other person than a friend in this world who can surmount a difficulty.<sup>111</sup>

And such a friend is regarded by the king as most deserving recepta for whole faith, barring his mother wife, brother, and the son as well.<sup>112</sup>

Suggesting that a king who remains in close association with his true friend, ever becomes successful in all his dealings of the administration. *Viṣṇuśarmā* makes a significant remark as below.<sup>113</sup>

---

110. उत्साहसम्पन्नमदीर्घसूत्रं क्रियाविधिज्ञं व्यसनेष्वसक्तम् ।  
शूरं कृतज्ञं दृढसौहृदं च लक्ष्मीः स्वयं मार्गति वासहेतोः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 126, p.52.

111. प्राणात्यये समुत्पन्ने यदि स्यान्मित्रदर्शनम् ।  
तद्द्विधाभ्यां सुखदं पश्चाज्जीवतोऽपि मृतस्य च ॥  
न तरत्यापदं कश्चिद्योत्र मित्रविवर्जितः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 175 dk 178, p.71-72.

112. न मातरि न दारेषु सोदर्ये न चात्मजे ।  
विश्वम्भस्तदृशः पुंसां यादृङ्मित्रे निरन्तरे ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 186, p.76.

113. यो मित्राणि करोत्यत्र न कौटिल्येन वर्तते ।  
तैः समं न पराभूतिं सम्प्राप्नोति कथञ्चन ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 196, p.80.

Culling out all the good qualities of a true friend Viṣṇuśarmā remarks with synthetic view.

“These three are the fruits of benefits arising from a friend, a great gain in adversity, the communication of a secret and release from calamity.”<sup>114</sup>

Therefore, Viṣṇuśarmā feels ecstatic to visualise integrated value of ‘friend’ in two letters of ‘मित्र’ and exclaims thus :

“By whom is this jewel ‘Mitra’ which consists of two letters created which affords protection when a danger comes and which is the abode of joy and confidence ?”<sup>115</sup>

Looking to all these important and beneficent characteristic features of friend, Viṣṇuśarmā unfolds the very essence of the word ‘Mitra’ in the following statement “By whom is this nector, in the form of the two letters ‘Mitra’ called ? which gives protection against adversity and serves as a medicine to allay the heat of affliction caused by grief.”<sup>116</sup>

- 
114. असम्पत्तौ परो लाभो गुह्यस्य कथनं तथा ।  
आपद्धिमोक्षणं चैव मित्रस्यैतत्फलत्रयम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 187, p.76.
115. प्राप्ते भये परित्राणां प्रीतिर्बिभ्रम्भभाजनम् ।  
केन रत्नमिदं सृष्टं मित्रमित्यक्षरद्वयम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 190, p.77.
116. केनामृतमिदं सृष्टं मित्रमित्यक्षरद्वयम् ।  
आपदं च परित्राणां शोकसंतापभेषजम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrasamprāpti*, verse - 61, p.22.

Besides the element of 'Mitra' of the sovereignty, its opposite face i.e., Śatru or enemy holds its own importance. As such, to know about sovereignty of kingdom, it is however necessary to observe the nature and movements of an enemy. Enumerating the qualities of an enemy, Kauṭilya states thus : That enemy is considered as worst, who is not born of a royal family, greedy, possessed of a mean assembly of ministers, having disloyal subjects, ever doing unrighteous deeds, of loose character, addicted to mean pleasures, devoid of enthusiasm, trusting to the fate, indiscrete in action, powerless, helpless impotent and injurious. Such an enemy can be easily uprooted.<sup>117</sup>

That foe who is equally of high birth and occupies a territory close to that of the conqueror, is a *natural enemy*; while he who is merely antagonistic and creates enemies to the conqueror is a *factitious enemy*.<sup>118</sup>

As said by Kauṭilya that an indiscreet enemy will perish at the hands of a powerful king, the story of the sea and the Ṭiṭṭibha bird occurring in the *Mitrabheda* (story No. 12), the

117. अराजबीजलुब्धः क्षुद्रपरिषत्को विरक्तप्रकृतिरन्यायवृत्तिरयुक्तो व्यसनी निरुत्साहो दैवप्रमाणो यत्किञ्चनकार्यगतिरननुबन्धुः क्लीबो नित्यापकारी चेत्यमित्रसम्पत् । एवंभूतो हि शत्रुसुखः समुच्छेतुं भवति ॥

*Arthaśāstra*, VI *Adhikaraṇa* (*Maṇḍalayoni*), I *Adhyāya*, p.320.

118. भूम्यन्तरं प्रकृत्यमित्रः तुल्याभिजनसहजः । विरुद्धो विरोधयिता वा कृत्रिमः । भूम्येकान्तरं प्रकृतिमित्रं मातापितृसम्बन्धं सहजं धनजीवितहेताराश्रितं कृत्रिममिति ।

*Arthaśāstra*, VI *Adhikaraṇa* (*Maṇḍalayoni*), II *Adhyāya*, p.322.

Ṭiṭṭibha bird being lonely, without knowing the power of the sea started growing enmity against the latter; as a result, the former experienced defeat. Therefore, it is said –

. “On seeing that an enemy is powerful, one should verily hide oneself, while the mighty should display their valour pleasantly.<sup>119</sup>

Therefore one should not begin hostilities without having properly ascertained the power of enemy.<sup>120</sup>

In the narration of Piṅgalaka’s story, both *Karataka* and *Damanaka* discuss on Sañjīvaka’s stay in the proximity of Piṅgalaka. *Damanaka* in this context unfolds a discipline of the science of polity in connection with an enemy.

He, who does not put down an enemy and a disease as soon as they make their appearance, is killed by the same, gaining strength, though he may be powerful.<sup>121</sup>

- 
119. बलवन्तं रिपुं दृष्ट्वा किलात्मानं प्रगोपयेत् ।  
बलवद्भिश्च कर्तव्या शरच्चन्द्रप्रकाशता ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, verse - 336, p.136.*
120. शत्रोविक्रममज्ञात्वा वैरमारभते हि यः ।  
स पराभवमाप्नोति समुद्रष्टिदृिभाद्यथा ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, verse - 337, p.136.*
121. जातमात्रं न यः शत्रुं व्याधिं च प्रशमं नयेत् ।  
महाबलोऽपि तेनैव वृद्धिं प्राप्य स हन्यते ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Mitrabheda, verse - 395, p.160.*

In the description of the story of Meghavarṇa and Arimardana in the *third tantra*, one of the ministers of Meghavarṇa gives his opinion that it is better to wage war against Arimardana. Because,

“An enemy who is cruel, very avaricious, lazy, regardless of truth, blundering, timid, unsteady, foolish and a despiser of warriors, can easily be rooted out.<sup>122</sup>

Thus, the element of “*Mitra*” together with its opposite face of “*Śatru*” has been well delineated by Viṣṇuśarmā keeping full harmony with Kauṭilya’s *Arthaśāstra*.

---

122. कूरो लुब्धोऽलसोऽसत्यः प्रमादी भीरुरस्थिरः ।  
मूढो योधावमन्ता च सुखोच्छेद्यो भवेद्रिपुः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiyam, verse - 25, p.7.*

## Part - II

**Adoption of Six-fold Policy**

It is worthy to note that in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya recognises six-fold policy to be adopted by the king in the circle of sovereign states, and expresses that the adoption of these policies protects the state from deterioration and leads to progress. Those six policies are as below :

- 1) *Sandhi* – Peace
- 2) *Vigraha* – War
- 3) *Āsana* – Neutrality
- 4) *Yāna* – Marching
- 5) *Samśraya* – Alliance
- 6) *Dvaidhībhāva* – Double policy i.e., making peace with one and waging war with another.<sup>1</sup>

In executing these six policies, Kauṭilya says, a king should be desirous of expanding his own power.<sup>2</sup>

1. षाड्गुण्यस्य प्रकृतिमण्डलं योनिः । संधिविग्रहासनयानसंश्रयद्वैधीभावाष्वाड्गुण्यम् इत्याचार्यः । द्वैगुण्यम् इति वातव्याधिः, “संधिविग्रहाभ्यां हि षाड्गुण्यं सम्पद्यते” इति । षाड्गुण्यमेवैतदवस्थाभेदात् इति कौटिल्यः । तत्र - पणबन्धः सन्धिः, अपकारो विग्रहः, उपेक्षणमासनं, अभ्युच्चयो यानं, परार्पणं संश्रयः, संधिविग्रहोपादानं द्वैधीभावः इति षड्गुणाः ।

*Arthaśāstra*, VII *Adhikaraṇa*, (*Śādguṇyam*), I *Adhyāya*, p. 326.

2. विजिगीषु शक्तपेक्षः षाड्गुण्यमुपयुञ्जीत ।

*Arthaśāstra*, VII *Adhikaraṇa*, (*Śādguṇyam*), III *Adhyāya*, p. 332.



All these six policies are found reflected in the third *tantra* i.e. *Kākolukīyam* of the *Pañcatantra*. It is read that Meghavarṇa and Arimardana together with their respective followers have fallen into enmity with each other. In order to devastate Arimardana, Meghavarṇa called a counsel of ministers to form the opinion regarding Arimardana's destruction. At that time, the ministers of Meghavarṇa gave their opinions one after the other to level Arimardana. Here Viṣṇuśarmā invests the disciplines of six policies into the opinions given by Meghavarṇa's ministers.

### **i. Adoption of *Sandhi* :**

The *Sandhi* or peace being the first of all six policies, holds more importance as it avoids any kind of destruction in the kingdom of either of the parties.

Here, it should be noted that when a king is not in a position to decide as to whether *Sandhi* or *Vigraha* be taken up, Kauṭilya ascertains that when the advantages derivable from peace and war are of equal character, one should prefer *Sandhi*; because disadvantages such as the loss of power and wealth, sojourning and sin, are ever attending upon war.<sup>3</sup>

---

3. सन्धिविग्रहयोस्तुल्यायां वृद्धौ संधिमुपेयात् । विग्रहे हि क्षयव्ययप्रवासप्रत्यवाया भवन्ति ।  
*Arthasāstra*, VII *Adhikaraṇa*, (*Śādgūṇyam*), II *Adhyāya*, p. 330.

The minister called *Ujjivi* in the *Kākolukiya* gave the suggestion that one should not wage war against a stronger enemy.<sup>4</sup>

He further continued to say that *Sandhi* should be made with such a person who is truthful, religious minded, good-hearted endowed with many brothers, stronger and who has won many battles.<sup>5</sup>

At this moment, a doubt may arise as to whether *Sandhi* be made with wicked person or not. Viṣṇuśarmā of course, does not say no. Because a weaker one under the pretext of *Sandhi* requires to protect himself and his subjects as well.<sup>6</sup> Thus, it is implied that weaker enemy need not look into the qualities of the strong king, when *Sandhi* is essential. Moreover, if a stronger king is to be approached in the time of war by a weaker king though had won the battle many a time in the past,

- 
4. बलवता सह विग्रहो न कार्यः ।  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, Kathāmukham, p.3.*  
 Cf. *Kamāndaka Niti IX-50*
5. सत्याढ्यो धार्मिकश्चार्यो भातृसङ्घातवान् बली ।  
 अनेकविजयी चैव सन्धेयः स रिपुर्भवेत् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 8, p.4.*  
 Cf. *Kamāndaka Niti IX-42*
6. सन्धिः कार्योऽप्यनार्येण विज्ञाय प्राणसंशयम् ।  
 प्राणैः संरक्षितैः सर्वं यतो भवति रक्षितम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 9, p.4.*  
 Cf. *Kamāndaka Niti IX-45*

then he should follow some special means. अनेक युद्धविजयी स तेन विशेषात्सन्धेयः । Otherwise he would immediately fall under the influence of a stronger king.<sup>7</sup> As a result, it becomes very difficult for the weaker one to get out of the clutches of stronger king even after lapse of long period. Hence, it indicates that the policy of *Sandhi* in the time of war is not for permanent solution to establish the peace, but it is for the temporary period as long as a weaker one does not grow stronger.

Referring to Bṛhaspati's opinion Viṣṇuśarmā makes a point that a doubtful deed should not be executed.

Also it is said that *Sandhi* should be made between the enemies of equal strength because victory in the war always remains uncertain.<sup>8</sup> This view is harmonious with that of Kauṭilya.<sup>9</sup>

As against the agreement of *Sandhi*, if a weaker king out of pride, moves to wage war with a stronger king then, as Kauṭilya

- 
7. अनेकयुद्धविजयी सन्धानं यस्य गच्छति ।  
तत्रभावेण तस्याशु वशं गच्छन्त्यरातयः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukīya, Kathāmukham*, verse - 10, p.4.  
Cf. Kamāndaka Niti IX.52
8. सन्धिमिच्छेत्समेनापि सन्दिग्धो विजयी युधि ।  
न हि सांशयिकं कुर्यादित्युवाच बृहस्पतिः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukīya*, verse - 11, p.4.  
Cf. Kamāndaka Niti IX.50
9. समज्यायोभ्यां सन्धियेत । हीनेन विगृह्णीयात् ।  
*Arthaśāstra, VII Adhikaraṇa, (Śādgunyam)*, III Adhyāya, p. 332.

states "like a stone striking an earthen pot, a superior king attains decisive victory over an inferior king."<sup>10</sup>

. With striking similarities to Kauṭilya's statement, Viṣṇuśarmā notes that, for a weaker one, *Sandhi* is preferred to *Vigraha*, because the fight of a weak person with a stronger one leads to his own destruction, for the powerful man stands unharmed having destroyed his enemy, as in the case of a stone after breaking an earthen pot.<sup>11</sup>

Another point is added by Viṣṇuśarmā regarding *Sandhi* that in case, where there will be no substantial gain but simply fighting, one should not occasion for war under any circumstance but *Sandhi* should be made.

Viṣṇuśarmā offers an advising word to a king going in for *Sandhi* that, a person desirous of unfailing royal wealth, should immitate the action of the cane-plant which always yields and never assumes an unbending attitude.<sup>12</sup>

- 
10. कुम्भेनेवाशमा हीनेनैकान्तः सिद्धिमवाप्नोति ।  
*Arthasāstra*, VII Adhikaraṇa, (*Śābdgūṇyam*), III Adhyāya, p. 333.
11. समं शक्तिमता युद्धमशक्तस्य हि मृत्यवे ।  
 दृषत्कुम्भं यथा भित्वा तावतिष्ठति शक्तिमान् ॥  
*Pañcatantra*, *Kākolukiya*, verse - 14, p.5.
12. बलीयसा समाक्रान्तो वैतसीं वृत्तिमाश्रयेत् ।  
 वाञ्छन्नभ्रंशिनीं लक्ष्मीं न भोजङ्गी कदाचन ॥  
*Pañcatantra*, *Kākolukiya*, verse - 18, p.5.  
 Cf. *Kamandaka Niti* X, 32, 35  
 कुर्वन्धि वैतसीं वृत्तिं प्राप्नोति महतीं श्रियम् ।  
 भुजङ्गवृत्तिमापन्नो वधमर्हति केवलम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra*, *Kākolukiya*, verse - 19, p.6.

Moreover, the *Arthaśāstra* ordains that when an inferior king is all submissive, *Sandhi* should be made with him, for, when provoked by causing troubles and anger, an inferior king like wild fire should attack his enemy, and for which he will be favoured by his circle of states.<sup>13</sup>

In the reflection of this Kauṭilya's statement, Viṣṇuśarmā has pointed out that assuming the contraction of a tortoise (i.e. humble behaviour) a talented man who has resorted to *Sandhi* should even bear blows by the enemy and whenever he would get favourable opportunity, he should rise like a black serpent against his enemy.<sup>14</sup>

At last, Viṣṇuśarmā concludes his opinion with regard to *Sandhi* that there is no precept to the effect that one should fight with a powerful person. A cloud never moves in a direction contrary to the wind.<sup>15</sup>

---

13. हीनश्चेत्सर्वं त्रानुप्रणतस्तिष्ठेत्, संधिमुपेयात् । आरण्योऽग्निरिव हि दुःखामर्षजं तेजो विक्रमयति । मण्डलस्य चानुग्राह्यो भवति ।

*Arthaśāstra*, VII *Adhikaraṇa*, (*Śābdguṇyam*), III *Adhyāya*, p. 333.

14. कौर्मं सङ्कोचमास्थाय प्रहारानपि मर्षयेत् ।  
काले काले च मतिमानुत्तिष्ठेत्कृष्णसर्पवत् ॥

*Pañcatantra*, *Kākolukīya*, verse - 20, p. 6.

Cf. *Kamāndaka Niti* IX.35

15. बलिना सह योद्धव्यमिति नास्ति निदर्शनम् ।  
प्रतिवातं न हि धनः कदाचिदुपसर्पति ॥

*Pañcatantra*, *Kākolukīya*, verse - 22, p. 6.

## ii. Adoption of *Vigraha*

*Vigraha* or 'war' being the second policy has been given the importance in an unavoidable circumstances.

In the *Kākolukīya* of the *Pañcatantra*, *Sañjīvi* another minister of Meghavarna proposes the policy of *Vigraha* to be taken into action against Arimardana. He asserts that inspite of having made an agreement of *Sandhi* with another king, the superior one should not remain blind due to faith, before the former, because it is indefinite to say that when and how an inferior king would grow stronger and attack the superior. It is just like the hot water does extinguish the fire.<sup>16</sup>

Further, it is stated "one should not enter into an alliance with a man who is destitute of truthfulness and righteousness or the principle of truthfulness; for, although firmly allied, he on account of his wickedness, will change before long."<sup>17</sup>

In view of this, *Sañjīvi* says that it is better to wage war against the enemy and if "an enemy who is cruel, very avaricious, lazy, regardless of truth, blundering in policy, timid,

- 
16. शत्रुणा न हि सन्दध्यात्सुश्लिष्टेनापि सन्धिना ।  
सुतप्तमपि पानीयं शमयत्येव पावकम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukīya, verse - 23, p. 6.*
17. सत्यधर्मविहीनेन न सन्दध्यात्कथञ्चन ।  
सुसन्धितोऽप्यसाधुत्वादचिराद्याति विक्रियाम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukīya, verse - 24, p.7.*

unsteady, foolish and a despiser or warriors, can easily be rooted out.<sup>18</sup>

Another point of consideration here is, one who is insulted should not go for *Sandhi*. Because, it will aggravate the situation to an unimaginable extent. It is just like a person suffering from high temperature should wipe out the sweating by a cloth.

If he takes bath in such condition, there will be all possibility of high increase of temperature leading to death. Therefore, *Sandhi* is not preferable to *Vigraha*, when the enemy is aggravated.<sup>19</sup>

Further, Viṣṇuśarmā remarks that *Vigraha* is preferable to *Sandhi* because “talks about negotiations for peace, serve, on the contrary, to inflame an enemy already angry, as drops of water falling all of a sudden on ghee which is very much boiled, agitate it.”<sup>20</sup> So also, laying more stress on *Vigraha*, a person

- 
18. ऋरो लुब्धोऽलसोऽसत्यः प्रमादी भीरुरस्थिरः ।  
मूढो योधावमन्ता च सुखोच्छेद्यो भवेद्रिपुः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 24, p.7.*
19. चतुर्थोपायसाध्ये तु रिपौ सान्त्वमपक्रिया ।  
स्वेद्य मामज्वरं प्राज्ञः कोऽम्भसा परिषिञ्चति ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 26, p.7.*
20. सामवादाः सकोपस्य शत्रोः प्रत्युत दीपिकाः ।  
प्रतप्तस्येव सहसा सर्पिषस्तोयबिन्दवः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 27, p.8.*

endowed with energy though a small man, can kill even a big or physically strong man as a lion does an elephant.<sup>21</sup>

Again emphasising *Vigraha*, the *Pañcatantra* reveals that “those enemies who can not be killed by force, should be killed by using deceit, as Bhīma killed *Kīcaka* by assuming the disguise of a woman.”<sup>22</sup>

.If an inferior king remains indifferent sustaining all troubles being brought by his enemy then he will become very meagre one like the grass, before the stronger enemies. Therefore *Sañjīvi* concludes that *Vigraha* is preferable to *Sandhi* to protect himself and his kingdom. In this way, *Sañjīvi* proposed *Vigraha* his own kingdom.

### iii. Adoption of *Yāna*

The third policy called *Yāna* or Marching may be brought into action, according to Kautilya, when one's resources are sufficient. Since the troubles of an enemy cannot be properly recognised or whenever one finds it possible to reduce or destroy

- 
21. उत्साहशक्तिसम्पन्नो हन्याच्छत्रुं लघुर्गुरुम् ।  
यथा कण्ठीरवो नागं भारद्वाजः प्रचक्षते ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 29, p.8.*  
Cf. *Kamāndaka Niti IX.56*
22. मायया शत्रवो वध्या अवध्याः स्युर्बलेन ये ।  
यथा स्त्रीरूपमस्थाय हतो भीमेन कीचकः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 30, p.8.*



an enemy by marching against him, then one may undertake a march.<sup>23</sup>

In other words, Kauṭilya gives another proposition of *Yāna* as under “that by marching my troops it is possible to destroy the works of my enemy; and as for myself, I have made proper arrangements to safeguard my own works.” Then he may increase his resources by *marching*.<sup>24</sup>

Treading the path of Kauṭilya, Viṣṇuśarmā defines *Yāna* as follows :

*Yāna* (marching off) is of two kinds - one is for saving one's life and wealth or treasure when there is danger from the enemy threatening the loss of both; the other is of the form of an expedition by one (a king) desirous of conquest.<sup>25</sup>

Introducing the proper time for *Yāna*, *Aṇujīvi* another minister of Meghavarṇa makes a statement that “Neither peace nor war, nothing else than a march against or from, is

---

23. शक्त्युदये यातव्यमनैकान्तिकत्वात् व्यसनानाम् इति कौटिल्यः । यदा वा प्रयातः कर्षयितुमुच्छेतुं वा शक्नुयादमित्रं तदा यायात् ॥

*Arthasāstra*, IX *Adhikaraṇa*, (*Abiyāsyatkarma*) I *Adhyāya*, p.422.

24. यदि वा मन्येत - यानसाध्यः कर्मोपघातः शत्रोः, प्रति विहितस्वकर्मारक्षश्चास्मि इति यानेन वृद्धिमतिषेत् ।  
*Arthasāstra*, IX *Adhikaraṇa*, (*Śādgūṇyam*) I *Adhyāya*, p.329.

25. द्विधाकारं भवेद्यानं भये प्राणार्थरक्षणम् ।  
एकमन्यज्जिगीषोश्च यात्रालक्षणमुच्यते ॥

*Pañcatantra*, *Kākolukiya*, verse - 36, p.9.

considered advisable in dealing with one who is superior in strength wicked and acting improperly.<sup>26</sup>

Viṣṇuśarmā is very explicit specifying the time for *Yāna* : “The expedition into an enemy’s territory by a conqueror, eminently powerful, is said to be very opportune either in the month of *Kārtika Caitra* and in no other. These months are recommended because they are the months of plenty and are free from the obstruction of rain. Besides, there is no danger of corn-fields being devastated.”<sup>27</sup>

This statement of Viṣṇuśarmā is perhaps not in conformity with Kauṭilya who prefers the month of *Mārgaśīrṣa* for marching.<sup>28</sup>

In this connection Manu’s statement appears to be most agreeable. Looking to the opportunity for marching against the enemy fallen in the calamities one should take *Yāna* at any time.<sup>29</sup>

---

26. बलोत्कटेन दुष्टेन मर्यादारहितेन च ।

न सन्धिविग्रहो नैव विना यानं प्रशस्यते ॥

•*Pañcatantra, Kākolukīya, verse - 35, p.9.*

27. कार्तिके वाऽथ चैत्रे वा विजिगीषोः प्रशस्यते ।

यानमुत्कृष्टवीर्यस्य शत्रुदेशे न चान्यदा ॥

*Pañcatantra, Kākolukīya, verse - 37, p.10.*

28. मार्गशीर्षी तैषीं चान्तरेण दीर्घकालां यात्रां यायात् ।

*Arthasāstra, IX Adhikaraṇa, (Abiyāsyatkarma) I Adhyāya, p.422.*

Cf. मार्गशीर्षे शुभे मासि यायाद्यात्रां महीपतिः ।

फाल्गुनं चैत्रं वा मासौ प्रति यथाबलम् ॥ *Manusmṛti VIII . 182*

29. अन्येष्वपि तु कालेषु, यदा पश्येद् ध्रुवं जयम् ।

यदा यायाद्विगृह्यैव, व्यसने चोत्थिते रिपोः ॥

*Manusmṛti, VIII - 183.*

In the same light, Viṣṇuśarmā's statement also is noteworthy :  
 "When the enemy is involved in a difficulty or has weak points, all times are spoken of recommended as fit for leading an attack."<sup>30</sup>

While marching against the enemy, Viṣṇuśarmā points out the king first of all should make all preparations for the protection of his kingdom through the valient and faithful persons, and he should start together with spies.<sup>31</sup>

Suggesting the information that while marching against the enemy, the king has to have the collection of food and water, *Aṇujīvi* says thus - "He who attacks an enemy's country without knowing its roads or anything about provisions of water and corn i.e. without knowing how to procure these or make arrangements for these, not only fails to conquer that country, but does not even return to his own country."<sup>32</sup>

A note informing another reason for going on march is important.

- 
30. अवस्कन्दप्रदानस्य सर्वे कालाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।  
 व्यसने वर्तमानस्य शत्रोश्छिद्रान्वितस्य च ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 38, p.10.*
31. स्वस्थानं सदृढं कृत्वा शूरैश्चानैर्महाबलैः ।  
 परदेशं ततो गच्छेप्रणिधिव्याप्तमग्रतः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 39, p.10*
32. अज्ञातवीवधासारतोयशस्यो व्रजेत्तु यः ।  
 परराष्ट्रं न भूयः सः स्वराष्ट्रमपि गच्छति ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 40, p.11*

The reason why a ram falls back (retreats) (when fighting) is that he should be able to strike with great force, the lion too contracts his body when wishing to leap upon his prey through great rage; with their motives concealed in their hearts and keeping their deliberations and movements secret, talented men put up with anything disregarding it altogether i.e. waiting for an opportunity they suffer any insults and do not care for them.<sup>33</sup>

Another reason put forth by Viṣṇuśarmā is in the following words. "He, who finding that his enemy is powerful, quits his country, lives and gets his kingdom again like *Yudhiṣṭhira* i.e. the eldest of the *Pāṇḍavās*.<sup>34</sup>

Thus, the deliberations on *Yāna* or marching, highlighted by Viṣṇuśarmā are comprehensive.

#### iv. Adoption of *Āsana*

The fourth kind of policy, called *Āsana* may be translated as 'Neutrality'. According to Kauṭilya, *Sthāna* (keeping quiet) *Āsana* (withdrawal from hostility) and *Upekṣaṇa* (negligence)

---

33. यदपसरति मेषः कारणं तत्प्रहत्तुं,  
मृगपतिरपि कोपात्संकुचत्युत्पतिष्णुः  
हृदयनिहितभावा गूढमन्त्रप्रचाराः,  
किमपि विगणयन्तो बुद्धिमन्तः सहन्ते ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 42, p.11.*

34. बलवन्तं रिपुं दृष्ट्वा देशत्यागं करोति यः ।  
युधिष्ठिर इवाप्नोति पुनर्जीवन् स मेदिनीम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 43, p.11.*

are synonymous with the word 'Āsana'. There may be a little difference between the three aspects of neutrality, keeping quiet and withdrawal.<sup>35</sup> Kauṭilya illustrates the meaning of Āsana in the following words : “That neither is my enemy strong enough to destroy my works, nor I am; if he comes to fight with me like a dog with a boar, I can increase his afflictions without incurring any loss in my own works, then he may observe *neutrality* and augment his own resources.”<sup>36</sup>

These statements of Kauṭilya invariably imply that one should remain in one's place keeping watch over one's enemy. Of course, “remaining in one's place” is very strategic. In this context, *Prajīvi*, another minister of Meghavarna proposes the adoption of the policy of Āsana in the meaning that Kauṭilya has given. Viṣṇuśarmā however makes a remark that when the *Sandhi*, *Vigraha* and *Yāna* fall inactive, Āsana has to be resorted to.

It is illustrated that a crocodile being in its own place (i.e. water) can easily catch hold of a big elephant. But when it is outside its place, it is defeated even by a dog.<sup>37</sup>

---

35. स्थानमासनमुपेक्षणं चेत्यासनपर्यायाः । विशेषस्तु-गुणैकदेशे स्थानं स्ववृद्धिप्राप्त्यर्थं आसनमासनं, उपायानामप्रयोग उपेक्षणमिति ।

*Arthasāstra*, VII Adhikaraṇa, (Śārnguṇyam) IV Adhyāya, p.336.

36. यदि वा मन्येत - “यानसाध्यः कर्मोपाघातः शत्रोः, प्रतिविहितस्वकर्मारक्षश्चास्मि” इति यानेन वृद्धिमातिष्ठेत् ।  
*Arthasāstra*, VII Adhikaraṇa, (Śārnguṇyam) I Adhyāya, p.329.

37. नक्रः स्वस्थानमासाद्य गजेन्द्रमपि कर्षति ।

स एव प्रच्युतः स्थानाच्छुनापि परिभूयते ॥

*Pañcatantra*, Kākolukiya, verse - 45, p.12.

In the context of such calamity, Viṣṇuśarmā states that “Attacked by a powerful enemy, a king should take shelter in a forest putting forth efforts; and stationed there, he should call his friends to his help that he should effect his escape.<sup>38</sup>

Further, it is also suggested that “He, who with his mind bewildered by fear on hearing of the approach of an enemy, leaves his own place, will not enter it again.<sup>39</sup>

So also, just as the serpent devoid of poisonous teeth, and the elephant without rut, so also a king being not in his own place will become very submissive before the stronger one.<sup>40</sup>

A single warrior in his own place becomes as stronger as to fight with hundred enemies. In addition to this, Viṣṇuśarmā considers that “Even weak men who live in their place are not overpowered by even a strong men acting adversely as creepers growing together are not injured by even a strong wind blowing in a contrary direction.<sup>41</sup>

---

38. अभियुक्तो बलवता दुर्गे तिष्ठेत्प्रयत्नवान् ।  
तत्रस्थः सुहृदाह्वानं प्रकुर्वीतात्ममुक्तये ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 46, p.12.*

39. यो रिपोरागमं श्रुत्वा भयसंत्रस्तमानसः ।  
स्वस्थानं हि त्यजेतत्र न तु भूयो विशेच्च सः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 47, p.13.*

40. दंष्ट्राविरहितः सर्पो मदहीनो यथा गजः ।  
स्थानहीनस्तथा राजा गम्यः स्यात्सर्वजन्तुषु ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 48, p.13.*

41. बलिनाऽपि न बाध्यन्ते लघवोऽप्येकसंश्रयाः ।  
विपक्षेणापि मरुता यथैकस्थानवीरुधाः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 52, p.13.*

Since even a large tree, strong and deep-rooted, well-embedded in the earth but growing singly can be uprooted by a strong wind; but the trees growing in a mass and firmly rooted, are not uprooted even by a violent wind on account of their growing in one place; so enemies consider a man who is single, unassisted although possessed of valour, as capable of being vanquished and then they kill him.<sup>42</sup>

In this manner, all the statements of *Prajivi* are inherited with the idea that how one can take revolt against his enemy being in his own place, which amounts to the adoption of the policy of *Āsana*.

#### v. Adoption of *Samśraya*

*Samśraya* being the fifth policy means seeking protection of another king (परार्षणं संश्रयः). Analysing the meaning of *Samśraya* or alliance Kautilya explains that when a king feels himself not strong enough, either to harass his enemy's works or to defend his own against enemy's attack, then he should seek protection from a king of superior power and endeavor to pass from the

---

42. महानप्येकजो वृक्षः बलवान्सुप्रतिष्ठितः ।  
 प्रसह्य इव वातेन शक्यो धर्षयितुं यतः ॥  
 अथ ये संहता वृक्षाः सर्वतः सुप्रतिष्ठिताः ।  
 ते न रौद्रानिलेनापि हन्यन्ते ह्येकसंश्रयात् ॥  
 एवं मनुष्यमध्येकं शौर्यणापि समन्वितम् ।  
 शक्यं द्विषन्तो मन्यन्ते हिंसन्ति च ततः परम् ॥

*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 53, 54, 55, p.14.*

stage of deterioration to that of stagnancy and from the latter to that of progress.<sup>43</sup>

Upholding another phase of the *Samśraya*, Kauṭilya asserts that “of two powerful kings who are on amicable terms with each other, a king should make alliance with one of them who likes him and whom he likes; this is the best way of making alliance.”<sup>44</sup>

Keeping these disciplines of *Samśraya* in the mind, Viṣṇuśarmā highlights them in his own words though few in number. *Cirañjivi* one of the ministers of Meghavarṇa, on being asked by the latter, gives his opinion about Meghavarṇa’s action against Arimardana, in the frame of the *Samśraya* or alliance. He explains the nature thereof with illustrations. He puts forth the idea of *Samśraya* with interrogation to lay more emphasis on this kind of policy in the following words.

What can a person who is capable enough, if be unassisted, accomplish in his life ? Because the fire though blazing gets extinguished by itself in an airless place.<sup>45</sup>

43. यदि वा मन्येत - “नास्मि शक्तः परकर्माण्युपहन्तं, स्वकर्मोपघातं वा त्रातुम्” - इति बलवत्तरमाश्रितः स्वकर्मनुष्ठानेन क्षयात् स्थानं स्थानाद्वृद्धिं चाकाङ्क्षेत ।

*Arthasāstra*, VII *Adhikaraṇa* (*Śābdguṇyam*), I *Adhyāya*, p.329.

44. प्रियो यस्य भवेद्यो वाऽप्रियोऽस्य कतरस्तयोः ।

प्रियो यस्य स तं गच्छेदित्याश्रयगतिः परा ॥

*Arthasāstra*, VII *Adhikaraṇa* (*Śābdguṇyam*), II *Adhyāya*, p.332.

45. असहायः समर्थोऽपि तेजस्वी किं करिष्यति ।

निर्वति ज्वलितो वह्निः स्वयमेव प्रशाम्यति ॥

*Pañcatantra*, *Kākolukiya*, verse - 56, p.14.



Beholding Kauṭilya's statement "*of the two powerful kings on amicable terms alliance be made with each other*", Viṣṇuśarmā remarks as below :

It is beneficial to both the kings to make *alliance* and to remain together (on some terms of amicability); rice without husk does not grow. Similarly if there is no cause for misunderstanding, then one king does not get agitated at the other one.<sup>46</sup>

Disclosing the truth of *alliance* or friendship between two kings, the following words remark –

"The wind becomes the assistant of the fire that burns forests; but the same wind puts out a lamp; who has friendship for the lean."<sup>47</sup>

This view is further substantiated :

"Just as a bamboo growing in a cluster thick and surrounded by other bamboos, cannot be cut down, so a king

---

46. सङ्गतिः श्रेयसी पुंसां स्वपेक्षे च विशेषतः ।  
तुषैरपि परिभ्रष्टा न प्ररोहन्ति तण्डुलाः ॥

*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 57, p.14.*

47. वनानि दहतो वह्नेः सखीभवति मारुतः ।

\*स एव दीपनाशाय कृशे कस्यास्ति सौहृदम् ॥

*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 58, p.14.*

who has a number of assistants cannot be destroyed though weak.<sup>48</sup>

Concluding the importance of *alliance*, *Cirañjivi* said –

“To whom is the company of a great man not elevating ? i.e. whom will it not elevate or raise in rank, the water lying on a lotus-leaf possesses the lustre of a pearl.<sup>49</sup>

Thus, Viṣṇuśarmā’s treatment of the *Samśraya* or *alliance* may be found in perfect harmony with Kauṭilya’s remarks.

#### vi. Adoption of *Dvaidhibhāva* :

‘Lastly, *Dvaidhibhāva* or *Double policy* is defined by Kauṭilya in the following words : “when a king thinks that by making peace with one, he can work out his own resources, and by waging war with another, he can destroy the works of his enemy, then he may adopt *double policy*.<sup>50</sup>

---

48. सङ्घातवान् यथा वेणुर्निबिडैवेणुभिर्वतः ।  
न शक्येन समुच्छेतुं दुर्वलोऽपि तथा नृपः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 59, p.15.*

49. महाजनस्य सम्पर्कः कस्य नोन्नतिकारकः ।  
पद्मपत्रस्थितं तोयं धत्ते मुक्ताफलश्रियम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 60, p.15.*

50. “सन्धिनैकतः स्वकर्माणि प्रवर्तयिष्यामि विग्रहणैकतः परकर्माण्युपहनिष्यामि” इति द्वैधीभावेन वृद्धिमातिष्ठेत् ॥  
*Arthasāstra, VII Adhikaraṇa, (Śādgūṇyam) I Adhyāya, p.329.*

Further, Kauṭilya explains the terms of double policy with more options in the following words. “Having combined with a neighbouring king, the conqueror may march against another neighbouring king. Or if he thinks that “(my enemy) will neither capture my rear nor make an alliance with my assailable enemy against whom I am going to march; I shall have double the strength with him, i.e. the enemy ensuing peace; (my ally) will not only facilitate the collection of my revenue and supplies and put down the internal enemies who are causing me immense trouble, but also punish wild tribes and their followers entrenched in their strongholds, reduce my assailable enemy to a precarious condition or compel him to accept the proffered peace, and having received as much profit as he desires, he will endeavor to endear my other enemies to me, “then the conqueror may proclaim war against one and make peace with another, and endeavor to get an army for money or money for the supply of an army from among his neighbouring kings.<sup>51</sup>

Viṣṇuśarmā suggests the proper time for adopting *Double policy* in the words below : When a cruel enemy grows stronger he will not become fit for faith; at that time another king should show his friendship in appearance and finally should kill him.

---

51. कृतप्रणाशः शक्तिहानिर्विद्यापण्यत्वमाशानिर्वेदो देशलोल्यमविश्वासो बलवद्विग्रहो वा परित्यागस्थानमित्याचार्याः । भयमवृत्तिरमर्ष इति कौटिल्यः । इहापकारी त्याज्यः, परोपकारी सन्धेयः । उभयापकारी तर्कयितव्यः इति समानम् । असन्धेयेन त्ववश्यं सन्धातव्ये यतः प्रभावः ततः प्रतिविदध्यात् ॥  
*Arthasāstra*, VII *Adhikaraṇa*, (*Sādgunyam*) VI *Adhyāya*, p.347-348.

Thus *double policy* has to be followed because that cruel enemy is not ready for either *Sandhi* or *Yāna*.<sup>52</sup>

And while such cruel enemy requires to be brought under confidence he should be attracted by essential desirable objects and then he may be easily destroyed. This view is exemplified by Sthirajīvi.

“Man well-versed in politics allow an enemy to grow strong ones, though they have to uproot him; phlegmatic affection, when increased by means of molasses, is easily cured.”<sup>53</sup>

Further Viṣṇuśarmā, reveals another aspect of *double policy* with regulative words : “The man who acts honestly with women, an enemy, a treacherous friend and especially with harlots, does not live.”<sup>54</sup>

It means, to protect one’s life, one should not deal in a righteous way with women (of bad character), bad friend in general and enemy in particular. On the other hand Viṣṇuśarmā

- 
52. अविश्वासं सदा तिष्ठेत्सन्धिना विग्रहेण च ।  
द्वैधीभावं समाश्रित्य पापशत्रौ बलीयसि ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 61, p.16.*
53. उच्छेद्यमपि विद्वांसो वर्धयन्त्यरिमेकदा ।  
गुडेन वर्धितः श्लेष्मा सुखं वृद्धया निपात्यते ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 62, p.16.*
54. स्त्रीणां शत्रोः कुमित्रस्य पण्यस्त्रीणां विशेषतः ।  
यो भवेदकभावोऽत्र न स जीवति मानवः ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 63, p.17.*

avoids the adoption of *double policy* with god, brahmin and one's preceptor.<sup>55</sup>

This shows Viṣṇuśarmā's high regard for them. So also the author puts another statement in a similar taste as below :

“Oneness of action is always commandable in the case of ascetics whose souls are purified but not in the case of men who are attached to women and especially of kings.”<sup>56</sup>

In short, basing on the comparative statements, from the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Pañcatantra*, it may be said that *Viṣṇuśarma* is greatly indebted to Kauṭilya in many respects.

- 
55. कृत्यं देवद्विजातीनामात्मनश्च गुरोस्तथा ।  
एकभावेन कर्तव्यं शेषं द्वैधसमाश्रितम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 64, p.17.*
56. एको भावः सदा शस्तो यतीनां भावितात्मनाम् ।  
स्त्रीलुब्धानां न लोकानां विशेषेण महीभृताम् ॥  
*Pañcatantra, Kākolukiya, verse - 65, p.17.*

## Part - III

**Miscellaneous Elements of Comparison****1. Guest**

The guest being another facet of the life has been regarded with due honour in Indian tradition. Following this tradition, Viṣṇuśarmā explicates the idea of a guest in the context of Devaśarmā's story in the first *tantra*. Being attracted by Āṣāḍhabhūti's humble behaviour, Devaśarmā stretches his hand of hospitality before him and said these words :

The house-holders of good nature, should worship the guest with a seat of grass, water, place for dwelling and sweet words, which of course are always to be found with them.<sup>1</sup>

By receiving the guest who comes to house-holder's house in the evening, travelling in the Sun, house-holders attain the dignity of a god.<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. तृणानि भूमिरुदकं वाक्चतुर्थी च सूनुता ।  
सतामेतानि हर्म्येषु नोच्छिद्यन्ते कदाचन ॥  
*Pañcatantra Mitrabheda, Kathā - 4, verse-182, p. 62.*  
तृणानि भूमिरुदकं वाक्चतुर्थी च सूनुता ।  
एतान्यपि सतां गेहे नोच्छिद्यन्ते कदाचन ॥  
*Cf. Manusmṛti - III - 101.*
  2. सम्प्राप्तो योऽतिथिः सायं सूर्योदे गृहमेधिनाम् ।  
पूजया तस्य देवत्वं प्रयान्ति गृहमेधिनः ॥१८१॥  
*Pañcatantra Mitrabheda, Kathā - 4, verse-181, p. 62.*

By welcoming the guest with sweet words, god Agni becomes pleased. So also, by offering the seat, god Indra, by watering the feet of guest, the forefathers, and by offering *arghya* god Śiva become pleased with the house-holder.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand *Kauṭilya* too regards the worship of guests as one of the duties of an house-holder. He says "The duty of house-holder is earning livelihood by his own profession, marriage among his equals of different ancestral Ṛṣis, intercourse with his wedded wife after her monthly ablution, gifts to gods, ancestors, guests, and servants, and the eating of the remainder."<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Punishment to the culprits

In the fourth story of Devaśarmā and Āṣāḍhabhūti in the *Mitrabheda* a reference is found to the punishment for culprits. In precise, Devaśarmā who had lost all money arrived to a house of weaver. Having made arrangement for the stay of Devaśarmā in his residence, and having asked his wife to look after him, weaver went outside to drink wine. Awaiting this opportunity, his wife got herself adorned to meet her harlot.

3. स्वागतेनाग्नयस्तुप्ता आसनेन शतक्रतुः ।

पादशौचेन पितरः अर्धाच्छम्भुस्तथाऽतिथेः ॥१८३॥

*Pañcatantra Mitrabheda, Kathā - 4, verse-183, p. 62.*

4. गृहस्थस्य स्वकर्माजीवस्तुत्यैरसमानर्षिभिर्वैवाह्यमृतुगामित्वं देवपित्रतिथिभृत्येषु त्यागशेषभोजनं च ।

*Arthaśāstra, I Adhikaraṇa (Vinayādhikārikam), IV Adhyāya, p. 14.*

When she was about to set out, she saw her husband coming back home. In order to conceal her whereabouts, she put off her ornaments and got dishevelled. Knowing his wife's ill-relation with another person, he got enraged and fastened his wife to a pillar with rope and the weaver fell unconscious on the ground as he had drunk. In the mean time, his wife's friend came there to render help. So too his wife placed her friend in that place and left the place to meet her mate. Meanwhile, the weaver got awakened and saw for his wife. Unfortunately, he mistook the friend fastened to the pillan for his wife. Being incensed, that weaver cut off her nose and again fell unconscious. By that time, weaver's wife came there and saw pitiable condition of her friend whose nose was cut off and let her free to her house. All this was happened in the presence of Devaśarmā who stayed in the house of weaver.

When that female friend went home, her husband (barber) asked her to bring the box of equipments. As she pushed the box rashly to him, her husband angrily threw a knife at her. Taking this opportunity, she played a mischief of blaming him for cutting her nose by the knife; and this quarrel between them was brought before the king.

When the barber was being taken to hang down, Devaśarmā rushed to that place and spoke out the fact he had actually perceived. Knowing the truth, the barber was let free. In this context, the officers in the court declared that the wife of



barber was the offender. For, she should be sentenced to death. At the same time, a precept was brought to notice that “A brahmin, boy, woman, a sick person or an ascetic enjoy an exemption from capital punishment i.e, death.” The law enjoins that they should be mamed. Following this law of punishment, barber’s wife however already stands punished by her bad deed and the barber also was punished in the form of cutting his ears for his laying violent hands on the woman.

In this declaration of punishment, two types of offenders are to be considered. One is, the woman who assists for adultery for which the punishment in the form of cutting nose is enjoined; the second is the person (barber) doing violence on a woman, for which the punishment in the form of cutting of his ears is ordained. This aspect of punishment is partly in conformity with *Kautilya’s* statement - “when any person obets a thief or an adulterer, he, as well as the woman who voluntarily yields herself for adultery, shall have their ears and nose cut off, or pay each a fine 500 panas. While the thief or the adulterer shall pay double the above fines.”<sup>5</sup>

In the nineteenth story of Dharmabuddhi and Pāpabuddhi forming the portion of *Mitrabheda*, Pāpabuddhi who was greedy of stealing the money of Dharmabuddhi, happened to be the

---

5. स्तेनपरिदारिकयोस्साचिव्यकर्मणि स्त्रियास्सङ्ग्रहीतायाश्च कर्णनासाच्छेदनं पञ्चशतो वा दण्डः, पुंसो द्विगुणः ॥

*Arthaśāstra*, I *Adhikaraṇa* (*Kantakaśodhanam*), X *Adhyāya*, p. 282.

cause for the death of his father. When the king was to adjudge the quarrel between Dharmabuddhi and Pāpabuddhi for occupying the wealth one from the other, he found no real witness at that time. Pāpabuddhi said “when there is a dispute, the documents about it are called for or, are required to be put it for examination in the absense of a document witnesses are required; and when no evidence is forth-coming, an ordeal is resorted to as the last resource - so declare the wise.”<sup>6</sup>

Resorting to the divine ordeal, Pāpabuddhi led the king to the tree saying that let the presiding deity over the tree as the witness decide over this dispute. Next morning, in order to gain his lot, Pāpabuddhi made his father sit concealed in the tree to play the role of the presiding deity. Also, he asked his father to tell that Dharmabuddhi was the thief. Then, both Pāpabuddhi and Dharmabuddhi together with officials of the court, left to the place of the *Shami* tree. Then, hearing the loud voice of Pāpabuddhi, his father sitting hidden within the tree spoke out. “This wealth was stolen by Dharmabuddhi.” Hearing this voice, the officials when looking at Dharmabuddhi as an offender, the latter ablazed the tree with materials of fire. At that time, his father suffering from the pain of death due to fire, said - “It was all because of the cruel deed of Pāpabuddhi.” and died. Then

---

6. विवादेऽन्विष्ये पद्मं तदभावेऽपि साक्षिणः ।  
साक्ष्यभावात्ततो दिव्यं प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः ॥

*Pañcatantra Mitrabheda, Kathā - XIX, verse-436, p. 181.*

knowing the fact, officials hang Pāpabuddhi to death and let Dharmabuddhi free with praise.

Here, it is very clear that Pāpabuddhi happened himself to be the cause of his father's death. Therefore he becomes great offender, as a result, he is put to death.

This type of death punishment bears congruity with *Kauṭilya's* statement as below :

“When a man hurts another with a weapon, he shall pay the highest amercement; when he does so under intoxication, his hand shall be cut off; and when he causes instantaneous death he shall be put to death.”<sup>7</sup>

Keeping this discipline of the law of punishment in view Viṣṇuśarmā narrates the story of Maṇibhadra in the *Aparikṣitakārika*.<sup>8</sup>

In connection with the ownership of the property Viṣṇuśarma makes a clear statement “A person who enjoys the crops for ten years continuously should be considered as the owner of the property and in his being as owner of that field there requires no other witness or any signatory authority than his own enjoyment. *Kauṭilya* says that those owners

---

7. कलहे धतः पुरुषं चित्रो घातः । सप्तरात्रस्यान्तः मृते शुद्धवधः । पक्षस्यान्तरुत्तमः । मासस्यान्तः पञ्चशतः समुत्थानव्ययश्च शस्त्रेण प्रहरत उत्तमो दण्डः । मदेन हस्तवधः । वधे वधः ।

*Arthasāstra*, I *Adhikaraṇa* (*Kantakaśodhanam*), XI *Adhyāya*, p. 283.

8. *Supra*, p.

other than minors, the aged, afflicted with disease or calamities those that are sojourning a fraud are those that have deserted their country who left for ten years their property which is under the enjoyment of others should forfeit the title to it.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to this, buildings left for twenty years in the enjoyment of others should not be reclaimed.<sup>10</sup>




---

9. स्वस्वामिसम्बन्धस्तु भोगानुवृत्तिरुच्छिन्नदेशानां यथास्वद्रव्याणाम् । यत् स्वं द्रव्यमन्यैर्भुज्यमानं दशवर्षाप्युपेक्षेत, हीयेतास्य अन्यत्र बालवृद्धव्याधितव्यसनिप्रोषितदेशत्यागराज्यविभ्रमेभ्यः । विंशतिवर्षोपेक्षितमनुवसितं वास्तु नानुयुञ्जीत ।

*Arthaśāstra*, III *Adhikaraṇa* (*Dharmastiyam*), XVI *Adhyāya*, pp. 238-239.

10. Vide, *Manusmṛti* :

अजडश्चेदपोगण्डो विषये चास्य भुज्यते ।

भग्नं तद्व्यवहारेण भोक्ता तद् द्रव्यमर्हति ॥ (VIII . 148)